

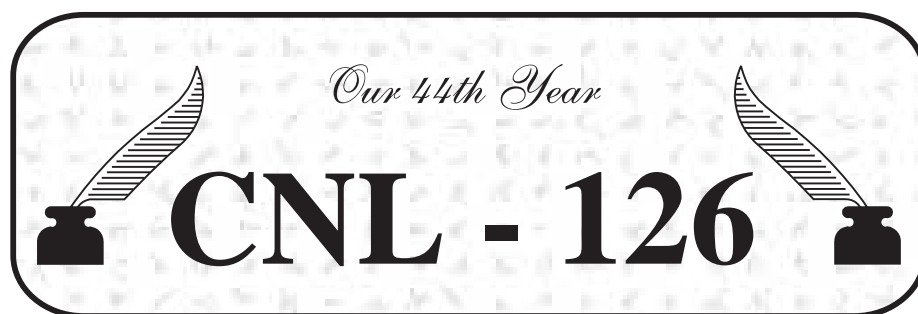
# THE COLONIAL NEWSLETTER

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## Editorial

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**Louis E. Jordan**

*Lord Baltimore Coinage and Daily Exchange  
in Early Maryland*

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**and**

**Clement V. Schettino**

*Another New Die Combination of the 1785-dated Series of  
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Welcome to CNL-126. This is a combined issue dated August/December 2004. We chose to do a double issue in order to publish our feature paper in its entirety instead of breaking it into two sections published months apart. The next issue, CNL-127, will appear in April 2005.

We are extremely pleased to present Lou Jordan's groundbreaking paper on Lord Baltimore coinage and money in early Maryland. His paper is meticulously researched and well written. Lou explained to me his thinking and what he tried to accomplish when he undertook this research project. I would like to share his comments with you. Lou says:

I had a general understanding as to how Baltimore coins were produced but I did not have a good explanation as to why they had been made. If the main reason for their production was in response to problems encountered with the tobacco economy, then it would seem Virginia would also have minted coins (since they were just as, or even more, dependent on tobacco!). Interestingly, Crosby said very little about Baltimore coins other than providing a taxonomy; he basically quoted from an unpublished paper by Sebastian Streeter. Also, other than documents related to the actual minting of the coins, Crosby did not quote the most relevant laws, not even the legislation for the establishment of a mint, as he had done for his chapter on Massachusetts silver, thus I have included transcriptions of the pertinent Maryland acts in the appendices.

To answer the question as to why the coinage was produced I needed to investigate three general topics, namely: how daily exchanges were conducted in the period before the coinage was proposed, the circumstances surrounding the pro-

duction, issuing and usage of the coinage and finally, how daily exchanges were conducted in the decades after minting ceased, when Baltimore silver disappeared from circulation.

As to the first topic I tried to understand how daily exchanges were conducted in Maryland in the early years, before the coins were minted. Had there been some economic crisis that required coinage be minted as was alluded to in previous explanations of the emission? The significance of tobacco in the early economy necessitated an understanding of a tobacco economy and the shifting price of tobacco in Maryland.

Regarding the second topic, I needed to understand Lord Baltimore's role in Maryland and investigate why he wanted to mint coins and why he was allowed to do so (as an aside I added a note on Avalon, so it would be apparent why Baltimore did not also issue coins for his colony in Newfoundland). An understanding of the political situation in both Maryland and the Commonwealth during the decade before the coins were issued was needed to clarify Baltimore's political and economic goals relating to the coinage proposal. Further to understanding the profit in the minting enterprise, I needed to research the weight and the nature of the coinage (as *fiat* money). Other aspects of this question related to the reception of the coinage. How were the coins distributed and used in daily exchange? I also needed to understand why the coinage was terminated. The economics of the coinage (related to payment for the coinage with tobacco) made the question of the cessation of the coinage clear. Many readers may be interested to learn the coinage distribution was smaller than previously thought and they may be interested in the distinction made between the legislation for establishing a mint and the legislation related to the distribution of the coinage.

Regarding the third topic, I discovered Breen was wrong to suggest that after Baltimore coinage had vanished Maryland reverted to a barter economy and was forced to legislate hemp as legal tender. Rather, Baltimore coinage can be viewed as a preliminary step in a long and slow transition of the economy with planters lobbying to continue a tobacco economy while the slowly

growing shopkeeper and craftsman class pushed for an influx of coinage. Since minting coins proved too expensive, in 1671 Maryland turned to advancing coin values as a method of attracting silver. Advancement legislation continued (on and off) until coinage was common enough to be encountered in daily use by the end of the century (this also meant that locals began to make and pass counterfeit coins!). I discussed the problems related to the Committee for Trade and Plantations rescinding the Advancement Act and the colony's 1706 proposal for copper coinage. I concluded with the implementation of the Proclamation rates. A postscript was added on the basic events leading to the first Maryland paper money emission and the termination of the use of tobacco as a money substitute in daily trade.

I think you will find Lou's paper to be very informative and interesting reading. So, sit back, kick off your shoes, and learn about money in early Maryland.

TN-193 presents another new discovery in the 1785-dated series of counterfeit halfpence. A new die variety has been found which combines two previously known dies in the series and is labeled Newman 51-85A. Currently three obverse and four reverse dies are known. A chart is presented illustrating the known die pairings and highlighting the new discoveries since Eric Newman cataloged the series in 1988. Also, based on die break evidence, striking sequence is discussed and the potential for new discoveries within the series is considered.

Finally, we were favored with a Letter to the Editor from Dr. Roger Moore concerning the pre-Federal errors paper authored by Dr. Philip Mossman which appeared in our last issue. Dr. Moore praises the paper for its complete analysis of the entire minting process. He continues by observing that New Jersey coppers seem to be found with fewer minting errors than the other coinages of the era. He also provides photos of two examples of New Jersey error coins that he has found, one being a triple error specimen.

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## Lord Baltimore Coinage and Daily Exchange in Early Maryland

by

Louis E. Jordan; South Bend, IN

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In the fall of 1659 Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore,<sup>1</sup> personally financed the minting of silver shillings, sixpence and groats for the province of Maryland. Numismatists have described the various die varieties and discussed the minting of these coins, but there is little information in the numismatic literature analyzing this coinage in relation to the history and economy of early colonial Maryland. Questions that come to mind when one holds one of these coins include: How was local commerce conducted before the emission? Why did Lord Baltimore undertake this enterprise? Were the coins used? If so, how did they relate to other coinage in circulation at the time? Why was the series terminated? How was local commerce conducted in the decades following the emission? In this essay I have tried to shed some light on these questions. To start, we must consider the position of the Calvert family in England and in the American colonies during this era, and then we must review the political and economic situation in Maryland during the first decades of colonization before turning to the specifics of the coinage.

### The Calverts and the New World

Cecil's father, George Calvert, had a long-standing interest in colonization. Back in 1609 he had acquired shares in the second charter of the Virginia Company and in that same year paid £1,000 to become a member of the East India Company. Subsequently, in 1620, Calvert substantially increased his colonial holdings by acquiring the southeastern portion of Newfoundland. The London and Bristol Company for the Plantation of Newfoundland, known as the Newfoundland Company, had been established in 1610 to exploit fishing and other natural resources in that area. In July 1610, John Guy departed Bristol with 39 colonists establishing the initial English settlement in Newfoundland at Cupid's Cove. The first two winters were rather mild, but harsh conditions in subsequent winters prevented the colony from flourishing. After several disappointing seasons the company realized it was going to take more investment than had been anticipated before the enterprise could be profitable, therefore, they decided to reduce their commitment by liquidating some holdings. Starting in 1617, and continuing for the next few years, the Newfoundland Company sold large tracts of land to individuals. In all, five private patents were issued, and one of these patentees was George Calvert. Calvert acquired part of his 1620 acquisition directly from the Newfoundland Company while the remainder was purchased from Robert Vaughan, who had obtained his tract previously in 1617. Within a year of obtaining his land, in 1621, Calvert commissioned Captain Edward Wynne to transport a few colonists to a small settlement, called Ferryland. Wynne, with about a dozen companions, remained at Ferryland through the winter. In May 1622, a resupply ship commanded by Captain Daniel Powell arrived at the outpost with additional colonists, increasing the population to a total of 32. Initial reports from Wynne and Powell regarding the Newfoundland settlement were enthusiastic and captured Calvert's interest.<sup>2</sup>

Calvert was a trusted member of the royal court, holding the position of Principal Secretary of State and, therefore, an appointment to the Privy Council, which consisted of the king's closest advisors. Calvert used his political influence to strengthen his claim in Newfoundland by obtaining a charter

1 In documents and formal letters Lord Baltimore regularly used Cecilius; therefore, historians sometimes refer to him as Cecilius Calvert. Ogilby, *America*, 1671, p. 184, explains that Baltimore was christened as Cecil (after his godfather, Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury) but, years later, when he was confirmed in the Catholic Church, he took the name Cecilius, which was undoubtedly due to the fact that the Catholic Church kept records in Latin. Contemporary letters and references to Lord Baltimore written by others use Cecil (as in the writ issued on October 4, 1659, where he is called "Cicill Lord Baltimore"; see Crosby, p. 129 and *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 3, p. 365). I suspect Cecil was the name he used in daily conversation; however, in legal documents he used the more formal Latin version.

2 See Coakley, pp. 2-6; Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, pp. 4-25 and 46-59 with documents from the Newfoundland Company on pp. 60-99 and the Calvert letters on pp. 250-302; some Calvert letters are available online in the website *Colony of Avalon* from the page "Documents relating to Ferryland: 1597-1726, Table of Contents," at [www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/history/documents/toc.html](http://www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/history/documents/toc.html) (last accessed December 20, 2003).

by letters patent from the king for his colony. On April 7, 1623, King James issued a charter to Calvert and his heirs giving them the same rights and privileges in the province as had been held by the Bishop of Durham, and designating them as "...the true and absolute Lords and Proprietaries of the Region..." that Calvert named Avalon.<sup>3</sup> The region was held *in capite*, by knight's service, with the additional stipulation that Calvert was to provide the king with the use of a white horse whenever the monarch should visit the colony.

Secretary Calvert served as the king's chief emissary in negotiations with the Spanish monarchy regarding a proposed marriage between the king's son, Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales, and the Infanta, Maria, daughter of Philip III of Spain. Calvert gained the trust of the Spanish and became identified as the foremost proponent of an alliance with Spain. Unfortunately for Calvert, negotiations broke down in 1623 when George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, accompanied Prince Charles on a trip to Spain and tried to exploit the proposed Spanish alliance for his own advancement.<sup>4</sup> Prince Charles then looked to France and negotiations soon commenced regarding a marriage with Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV of France. Under these circumstances it became clear an alliance with Spain was untenable. As a result, Calvert's several years advocating a Spanish alliance opened him to numerous political attacks from the French faction within the king's court, headed by Prince Charles and the powerful Duke of Buckingham. Calvert understood he would need to resign from office but wanted to do so with honor and without financial loss. After about a year of discussions and negotiations, Calvert vacated the secretariat in February 1625, under the conditions that he be allowed to sell his office for £3,000 and be permitted to remain on the Privy Council. Also, at that time, James I elevated the Yorkshire-born Calvert to the Irish peerage as the first Baron of Baltimore, an area located in County Longford,

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3 The full text of the charter is in Scharf, vol. 1, with this quote on p. 35, section 5. Avalon is the ancient name of Glastonbury, where it is said Christians first settled in Britain.

4 Sir George Villiers held the titles of Baron Whaddon, Vicount Villiers and Earl (1617-18), then Marquess (1618-23) and from 1623, Duke of Buckingham. He is usually referred to in historical discussions as the Duke of Buckingham and is known for his homosexual relationship with James I. The *Encyclopedia Britannica Online* includes the following information in their biography of Buckingham:

George Villiers' father was a knight and a sheriff in Leicestershire. Introduced to James I in August 1614, the charming, handsome Villiers soon replaced the Scottish favourite Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, in the king's esteem. He became master of the horse in 1616, Earl of Buckingham in 1617, and lord high admiral in 1619. By using his power both to elevate and to enrich his relatives, he alienated the upper classes from the crown.

Buckingham played his first major part in politics in 1623, when he and James's son, Prince Charles (later King Charles I), visited Madrid to arrange a marriage between Charles and the daughter of the Spanish king. In attempting to conclude an alliance with Spain, Buckingham hoped to use Spanish influence to recover the Palatinate, an electorate of the Holy Roman Empire, for James's son-in-law, Frederick V. But the arrogance of Buckingham (now a duke) contributed to the collapse of the marriage negotiations. He then returned to London and, with Parliamentary backing, pressured James to go to war with Spain. James had already created him a duke (May 18, 1623), the first known in England since the execution of the Duke of Norfolk (1572).

After Charles ascended the throne in March 1625, Buckingham's leadership led to a series of disasters. The marriage he arranged between Charles and the French Roman Catholic princess Henrietta Maria failed to bring about an Anglo-French alliance, and it angered Parliament by raising the threat of a Catholic succession to the English throne. In addition, the vast naval and land expedition Buckingham sent against the Spanish port of Cadiz in October 1625 was so poorly organized and equipped that it disintegrated before it could storm the city. Hence a bill to impeach the duke was introduced in Parliament in May 1626. In order to save him, Charles dissolved Parliament in June. Buckingham's case was then tried before the Royal Court of the Star Chamber, where, to no one's surprise, the charges were dismissed...

Ireland. Calvert moved to Ireland and soon openly professed to be a Roman Catholic. However, he remained a loyal supporter of the Stuart kings.<sup>5</sup>

After settling in Ireland, Baltimore had more time to turn his attention to his new world holdings, visiting Avalon briefly in the summer of 1627 and again, for a longer stay, starting in the spring of 1628. During his second visit Baltimore experienced some of the adversities of the region spending much of his time fighting French pirates. Also, due to a severe winter resulting in a scarcity of Indian corn in Avalon, the baron was forced to purchase and transport wheat and malt from England. Baltimore concluded that the Newfoundland climate was too harsh for a major settlement, rather it was only suitable as a small fishing outpost, so he resolved to leave the colony to fishermen and began looking for a tract of land further south, in a more temperate climate. In a letter to King Charles from Avalon, Baltimore stated,

...from the midst of October, to the midst of May there is a sadd face of wynter vpon all this land, ... my howse hath beene an hospital all this winter, of 100 persons 50 sick at a tyme, myself being one and nyne or ten of them dyed. ...I am determined to committ this place to fishermen that are able to encounter stormes and hard weather, and to move my self with some 40 persons to your Maiesties [Majesty's] dominion of Virginia, where yf [if] your Maiesty [Majesty] will please to grant me a precinct of land with such priuiledges as the king your father [,] my gracious Master [,] was pleased to graunt me here, I shall endeavor, to the vtmost of my power, to deserve it...<sup>6</sup>

In the fall of 1629 Lord Baltimore traveled to Virginia scouting for a favorable area to start a colony. Virginia was an Anglican stronghold, thus Baltimore, as a Catholic, was given a rather cold reception, and, therefore, his visit was brief.

Upon returning to England, Lord Baltimore applied for a royal patent to the land south of the James River and north of Carolina, which the king granted to him on March 17, 1632. However, the Council of Virginia vigorously lobbied against this grant. In addition to the objections of the Virginia planters, the king also began to consider the encroachment of the New Netherland Dutch into the area; they had been observed as far south as Cape Charles at the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay. Thus, King Charles revised his grant and offered Baltimore a parcel of land to the north of Virginia that could serve as a buffer to hold off Dutch expansion.

Baltimore had a very specific idea as to how his colony was to be governed. He did not want to take on investors and organize along the lines of a joint stock company, as was the case in Virginia, Bermuda and Massachusetts Bay. Rather, Baltimore wanted to expand on the rights he held in his charter for Avalon, where he was an independent proprietary. As in the Avalon charter, the Baltimore family was again granted the same rights as had been exercised by the medieval

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5 See Krugler for details on Calvert's career. Krugler shows that Calvert's resignation was due to political realities and was not related to his conversion to Catholicism, as earlier historians have suggested. In fact, Krugler suspects Calvert's conversion from the Church of England to the Roman Catholic Church probably occurred after, rather than before, his resignation. Thus, the conversion is seen, in some degree, a result rather than as a cause of Calvert's resignation. However, also see Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, pp. 46-50.

6 Letter of August 19, 1629, from Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, pp. 295-96; also transcribed by P.E. Pope from: Great Britain, Public Record Office, CO 1/5 (27), 75 MHA 16-B-2-001 in, the *Colony of Avalon* website at [www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/history/documents/letter\\_14.html](http://www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/history/documents/letter_14.html) (last accessed on December 20, 2003); a partial transcription is in Papenfuse, *Atlas*, p. 7.

bishops of Durham.<sup>7</sup> The bishopric of Durham was selected as the model because the medieval Catholic bishops of Durham had been granted the authority of a palatine count; that is, they had wide-ranging rights that were usually reserved by the king.<sup>8</sup> An English translation of the relevant clause in section four of the charter states that Lord Baltimore was to be invested:

Together, with all and singular the like, and as ample rights, Jurisdictions, Priviledges, Prerogatives, Royalties, Liberties, Immunities, and Royall rights, and franchises of what kind soever temporall, as well by Sea, as by land, within the Countrey, Iles, Iletts [Islets], and limits aforesaid; To have, exercise, use, and enjoy the same, as amply as any Bishop of Durham, within the Bishoprick, or County Palatine of Durham, in our Kingdome of England, hatyh at any time heretofore had, held, used, or enjoyed, or of right ought, or might have, had, held, used, or enjoyed.<sup>9</sup>

Baltimore wanted to be a feudal lord with the right to make land grants as he wished, independent of royal approval, and with the ability to grant jurisdictional rights to his appointed manorial lords. Avalon was held "*in capite*, by knight's service." *In capite* is Latin for "in chief," that is, the land was held directly from the king, so that Baltimore was the "tenant in chief" directly answerable to the king for his actions. Also, he held the land by "by knight's service," meaning he was obligated to support the king by performing various services when called on to do so. If Baltimore failed to

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7 The "Bishop of Durham" clause had previously been used in the Carolina charter issued to Robert Heath on October 30, 1629; see: *The Avalon Project at Yale Law School*, a free web resource that includes searchable versions of the texts of many colonial charters and related documents. The Heath charter is at <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/heath.htm> (last accessed on December 20, 2003). Subsequent to Lord Baltimore's Maryland charter, the "Bishop of Durham" clause was included in Edmund Plowden's charter of 1634 for New Albion (New Jersey and Delaware) and later in the Carolina charters of March 24, 1663, and June 30, 1665. See these documents in *The Avalon Project* at <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/nc01.htm> and <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/states/nc04.htm> (last accessed on December 20, 2003) also see Coakley, pp. 7-8.

8 The Emperor Augustus constructed his imperial residence on the Palatine Hill in Rome. Since that time the word "palatine" has been used as an adjective to refer to something belonging to the emperor. It has frequently been used in relation to both the ancient Roman emperors and the German Holy Roman emperors of the medieval and early modern eras. In England the term palatine was used to describe nobles, typically earls or dukes, who were granted special royal privileges allowing them to exercise authority in their jurisdiction that was otherwise reserved for the king. William the Conqueror invested the Bishop of Durham and the Earl of Chester with the wide-ranging authority of a palatine count because their domains were border counties, on the frontier, with Durham facing Scotland and Chester bordering Wales. In 1071, Hugh d'Avranches (called Lupus "the Wolf" and Le Gros "the Fat") became the first palatine count of Chester and in 1075, following the execution of Waltherof, Earl of Northumberland, for treason against William the Conqueror, William Walcher of Lorraine, the first Norman Bishop of Durham, was invested with palatine authority; in 1335, Edward III elevated Henry Grosmont, the Earl of Lancaster, as a palatine count, with the title of Duke of Lancaster. Over time the houses of Chester and Lancaster were reunited into the crown but Durham remained independent. The palatine rights of the Bishop of Durham were greatly reduced by Henry VIII in 1535 under 27 Henry VIII, chapter 25, and then completely abolished in 1836. It should be noted Baltimore's rights were not limited to those rights held by the then current Bishop of Durham but were the rights "...any Bishop of Durham, within the Bishoprick or County Palatine of Durham, in our Kingdom of England, ever heretofore that had, held, used, or enjoyed, or of right could, or ought to have, held, use, or enjoy." See, Hall, pp. 103, footnote 1 and 196, footnote 1.

9 Hall, reprinting an English translation of the charter published in the pamphlet attributed to Thomas Cecil, *Relation*, 1635, on p. 103. The original Latin text, in Thorpe, vol. 3, on p. 1670 reads: "Cum omnibus et singulis hujusmodi ac adeo amplis Juribus Jurisdictionibus Privilegiis Praerogativis Regalitatibus Libertatibus Immunitatibus Juribusque regalibus et Franchesiis quibuscumque temporalibus tam per mare quam per Terram infra Regionem Insulas Insululas et Limites praedictos habendis exercendis utendis et gaudendis prout aliquis Episcopus Dunelmensis infra Episcopatum sive Comitatum Palatinum Dunelmensem in regno nostro Angliae unquam antehac habuit tenit usus vel gavisus fuit seu de jure habere te nere uti vel gaudere debuit aut potuit" Thorpe gives a corrected Latin text. A transcription from the original document in the Public Record Office, London (Patent Role 8 Charles I. Part 3, No. 2594), replicating the orthography (as the use of c for t) and errors in the document (for example, it appears the Patent Roll text incorrectly transcribes tam as tarn) is in the *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 3, with this passage on p. 4.

provide the obligatory services he would forfeit the land granted to him.<sup>10</sup> Since Baltimore was “tenant in chief” for the king, all individuals appointed to posts in Avalon were ultimately obligated to the king. However, in the Maryland charter Baltimore and his heirs were created and constituted as:

...the true and absolute Lords, and Proprietaries...in free and common soccage, by fealty onely, for all services, and not in Capite, or by Knights Service: Yeelding and paying therefore to Us, our Heires and Successors, two Indian Arrowes of those parts, to be delivered at Our said Castle of Windsor, every yeere, on the Tuesday in Easter weeke; and also the fifth part of all Gold and Silver Oare within the limits aforesaid, which shall from time to time happen to be found.<sup>11</sup>

Thus Maryland was held “in free and common soccage.” This meant the grantee did not owe any services to the king other than an annual token or perfunctory act, in this case, the delivery of two Indian arrows each year on the Tuesday of Easter week. All other service to the king was rendered because of the grantee’s allegiance to the king, not as part of an obligation for the land granted to him.<sup>12</sup> In Maryland, all appointments, privileges and concessions were authorized and granted by or through Lord Baltimore. He did this on his own authority without any requirement to consult with or seek approval from the king. Manorial lords, office holders and other grantees in Maryland were obligated to Lord Baltimore and to him alone for their concessions. All Maryland inhabitants were subjects of the king and owed allegiance to the monarchy, but any concession they held in Maryland had been granted by Lord Baltimore as the Absolute Lord of the County Palatine of Maryland. Therefore, anyone granted a concession in Maryland was obligated to and owed allegiance to Lord Baltimore and only him for that concession; they were not ultimately obligated to the king for their titles and concessions, with Baltimore as an intermediary.

Calvert realized the parameters of his Maryland charter allowed him far more authority than was currently held by any British or Irish lord.<sup>13</sup> This presented a problem since he wanted the freedom to do as he saw fit, but at the same time, did not want to be a dictator over his colonists. Indeed, Calvert believed in parliamentary government and had been elected to Parliament on three occasions.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, Calvert included a clause in the charter stating laws could only be

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10 On land held *in capite*, by knight’s fee, see, Pollock and Maitland, vol. 1, pp. 232-33 and 252-82. The most well-known contemporary seventeenth century legal discussion on this topic is Edward Coke’s (1552-1634) commentary on Thomas Middleton (1422-81), known as the *Institutes*, Part 1, Book 2, Chapter 4, sections 103-16, on folios 74v-85r. Essentially Coke, in the medieval tradition, updates the earlier commentary, giving Middleton’s gloss on the topic and then presenting his own commentary clarifying and updating Middleton. Coke presents similar information as is found in Maitland but with much less explanation for the layman, or for the modern reader, who may be unfamiliar with medieval English civil law terminology.

11 Hall, reprinting an English translation of the text published in the pamphlet attributed to Thomas Cecil, *Relation*, 1635, on pp. 103 and 104.

12 Pollock and Maitland, vol. 1, pp. 291-96; Baker, p. 226 ff. and Coke, *Institutes*, Part 1, Book 2, Chapter 4, sections 117-132, on folios 85v-93v. The term is usually spelled socage.

13 According to the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* the term British was in general use during the seventeenth century to refer to English and Scottish as opposed to Irish. In reference to governments the term was not adopted until the Union of 1707. The *OED* defines British as “Of or belonging to Great Britain, or its inhabitants. In the earlier instances only a geographical term adopted from Latin; from the time of Henry VIII frequently used to include English and Scotch; in general use in this sense from the accession of James I, and in 17th c., often opposed to *Irish*; legally adopted at the Union in 1707.” See *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, a restricted access database at <http://dictionary.oed.com> under “British”, meaning 2a (last accessed April 5, 2004).

14 He was a member of Parliament in the House of Commons for Bossinet (1609-11), York (1620-22) and Oxford University (1624-25).

ordained or enacted "...with the Advise, Assent, and Approbation of the Free-Men of the same Province, or of the greater Part of them, or of their Delegates or Deputies..."<sup>15</sup>

The Virginia planters, who lobbied against the king's initial grant to Baltimore of land to the south of Virginia, also contested the revised proposal granting him land just north of Virginia. On April 15, 1632, during a period of negotiations with the Virginians, George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, died. It was only recently, during the summer of 2001, that an early grant, defining the borders of Maryland, was uncovered in the Public Record Office in London. The document bears the Privy Seal with the date of June 5/6, 1632. The boundaries were stated as:

...that whole peninsula or neck of land lying between the ocean on the east and the great Bay of Chesopeack on the west, and between Cape Charles on the South and Delaware Bay on the North, together with the whole Bay of Delaware unto the bottom thereof and from thence to the head or fountain of the River of Potomacke and so along the west and south shore of the said river unto a place called Cinquacke at or near unto the mouth thereof, where it falls into the Bay of Chesopeack, and from thence running along the west shore of the said Bay to the Bottom of the same where it meets with the Peninsula first mentioned and all the scope of land contained within those limits, as well as half of the bay from the Potomac down to its mouth at Cape Charles.<sup>16</sup>

As part of the negotiations King Charles had requested the name of the province be changed from Baltimore's preferred *Crescentia* to the king's choice of Maryland, in honor of his wife, Queen Henrietta Maria, a Catholic from the royal family of France. By June 6th the king was satisfied with the name of the colony, the governance and the boundaries and issued the land grant. However, some Virginia planters objected that part of the land given over to Maryland had been settled by the Virginia Plantation, namely the area between Cape Charles and Watkin's Point. Therefore, a revised draft of the document was prepared incorporating Watkin's Point as the boundary. It was not until June 20, 1632, that the official Latin version of the revised charter received the privy seal. On that day George Calvert's son, Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, became the first Absolute Lord Proprietary of the County Palatine of Maryland. An additional exclusion was added to the Latin charter, not found in the June 5/6th English version, limiting the colony to "*hactenus inculta*," which translates as, "insofar as the land was uncultivated (or uninhabited)." <sup>17</sup>

### The founding of Lord Baltimore's Maryland

After the charter was finally issued, the family spent a year-and-a-half attracting investors and preparing for the initial colonization voyage. At about 10:00 AM on Friday, November 22, 1633, the 300 ton ship *Ark* and the 30 ton pinnacle *Dove*, departed England from Cowes Harbour in the Isle of Wight, under the charge of Cecil's brother, the first governor of Maryland, Leonard Calvert. We do not know the precise number of passengers; contemporary sources vary from 128 to about 300, with current estimates in the range of 150-200.<sup>18</sup> Of these passengers, 17 were characterized as

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15 Thorpe, vol. 3, p. 1679 in section 7. The original Latin text on p. 1671 reads: "...cum concilio Assensu et Approbatione Liberatorum Hominum ejusdem Provinciae vel majoris Partis eorundem vel eorum Legatorum vel Deputatorum..." ; also see the *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 3, p. 5. Of course, Calvert, as the Absolute Lord Proprietary, vetoed several laws passed by the Maryland legislature, thus Calvert, rather than the legislature, was the final authority.

16 Papenfuse, *Atlas*, p. 8.

17 Scharf, vol. 1, pp. 29-81; D. Jordan, pp. 1-7; Papenfuse, *Atlas*, pp. 7-8.

18 D. Jordan, p. 11; Ives, p. 108; Wyckoff, p. 43; Cecil, *Relation*, 1635, p. 2



"Gentlemen adventurers" in a pamphlet of 1635,<sup>19</sup> while most of the remainder were indentured workers whose fare was paid by the investors; a few, including some Jesuit missionaries, were freemen who paid their own passage. Investors were to be granted 2,000 acres of land for every five men they brought to the province. In return for the land, the investors were to pay Baltimore an annual rent of four hundred pounds of wheat. These investors were to become manorial lords with the right to hold a baronial court, dispensing justice on their estates. Investors transporting fewer than five male workers would receive smaller estates without baronial privileges.<sup>20</sup> The journey to Maryland took a total of four months. After brief stops in the Canary Islands, Barbados and St. Kitts the passengers landed at Point Comfort, Virginia, in the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, on February 24th (*the locations mentioned in Maryland and Virginia can be found on the map, figure 1*).

On March 3, 1634, the group departed Point Comfort, and after two days sailing on the Chesapeake, they arrived at the mouth of the Potomac River, the border between Virginia and Maryland. The boats sailed up the Potomac and anchored at St. Clement's Island.<sup>21</sup> While the colonists waited on the island, the governor took an advance scouting party far up the Potomac, visiting several Indian encampments as they searched for a site to establish a town. When the scouts arrived at the Indian settlement at Paschatoway they discovered an Englishman, Captain Henry Fleete, who had been living with the Indians. Captain Fleete agreed to help the colonists and conducted them back down the Potomac to the mouth of a river that they named for St. George (now, the St. Mary's River). As the explorers traveled down the river they discovered two harbors, the outer harbor was named for St. George and the inner harbor for the Virgin Mary. There was

19 They were: Governor Leonard Calvert and George Calvert, both brothers of Lord Baltimore, as well as Jerome Hawley and Thomas Cornwallis as Commissioners along with the investors, or as contemporaries called them, adventurers, Nicholas Fairfax, Richard Gerard, John Metcalf, John Saunders, Edward Winter, Frederick Winter and Henry Wiseman. Also included in this number were some individuals who have not been shown to have personally invested money in the venture, namely, John Baxter, Edward Cranfield, Thomas Dorrell, Henry Greene, Captain John Hill and William Saire. See Cecil, *Relation*, 1635, p. 56. Possibly these latter individuals were overseeing the investments of the adventurers who did not travel to Maryland. Known investors who did not travel to Maryland included: Richard Foster, Thomas Greene, Elinor Hindersly, Jerome Hawley, William Knipe, Richard Lechford, Anthony Metcalf, William Peasely, Edward Robinson and Mrs. Constant Wells. Of course, the most significant investor, Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, also stayed behind. See, Menard, *Economy and Society*, pp. 451-53. Menard does not list George Calvert or Ralph Eure as investors since there is no conclusive proof of their financial involvement.

20 The original conditions of settlement were confirmed in a letter of August 8, 1636, written by Lord Baltimore in Portsmouth, England, to his brother in Maryland, Governor Leonard Calvert. Rents were designated in pounds of wheat or commodities. This document was written in England at a time when Indian corn was not widely known. The term "wheat" was used to refer to the staple grain of the plantation, which, in fact, was Indian corn. Later documents are more specific and mention barrels of corn. Excerpts from the 1636 document follow:

...for every five men aged between Sixteen and fifty years, which Such Adventurer did bring into our Said Province to Inhabit and plant there in the year of our Lord 1633 and unto his heirs forever a Grant of 2000 acres of Land of English measure, for the yearly rent of 400<sup>l</sup> weight of good wheat... [and] ...Since the year of our Lord 1635, or which at any time hereafter Shall transport any men of the age aforesaid to Inhabit and plant there, untill Some other or further conditions of Plantation Shall be by us propounded and published to Adventurers,... for every five men which he or She Shall Soe transport thither, and to his or her heirs forever, a Grant of 1000 acres of English measure for, the yearly rent of 20s (to be paid in the Comodities of the Country)... *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 3, pp. 47 and 48.

21 The original account of the voyage, in [Cecil], *Relation*, 1635, p. 3, states "They sayled up the River, till they came to *Heron* lland, which is about 14. leagues, and there came to an Anchor under an Island neere unto it, which they called *S. Clements*. Where they set up a crosse, and tooke possession of this Countrey for our *Saviour*, and for our Sovereigne Lord the King of *England*." Thomas Gerard acquired the island in 1639, as part of a grant of 11,400 acres. In 1669, the island was given to Gerard's daughter Elizabeth as a dowry when she married Nehemiah Blackistone. From 1669 until 1962 the island was called Blackistone Island. During this period there was some confusion over the identification and location of St. Clement's Island. In 1879, Scharf, vol. 1, p. 74, identified the landing site as Heron Island, while in 1910, Hall, p. 71, footnote 2, correctly identified the site as Blackistone Island. In 1962 Blackistone Island was renamed St. Clement's Island. The Maryland State Park maintains a St. Clement's Island Museum. See the page in the website *Southern Maryland Online* at: <http://www.somd.com/Detailed/2456.php> (last accessed May 24, 2004).

an Indian village called Yoacomaco at the inner harbor where Governor Calvert went ashore to investigate. The events that followed were described for posterity in the anonymous pamphlet, *A Relation of Maryland*, dated September 8, 1635, attributed to one of the colonists, Thomas Cecil:

This place he found to be a very commodius situation for a Towne, in regard the land good, the ayre wholesome and pleasant, the River affords a safe harbour for ships of any burthen, and a very bould shoare; fresh water, and wood there is in great plenty, and the place so naturally fortified, as with little diffultie, it will be defended from an enemye.

To make his entry peaceable and safe, hee thought fit to present the *Werowance* [i.e. Indian chief] and the *Wisoes* [i.e. advisors] of the Towne with some *English* Cloth, (such as is used in trade with the *Indians*) Axes, Howes, and Knives, which they accepted very kindly, and freely gave consent that hee and his company should dwell in one part of their Towne, and reserve the other for themselves: and those *Indians* that dwelt in that part of the Towne, which was allotted to the *English*, freely left them their houses, and some corne that they had begun to plant: It was also agreed between them, that at the end of the haruest they should leave the whole town; which they did accordingly: And they made mutuall promises to each other, to live friendly and peaceably together, and if any injury should happen to be done on any part, that satisfaction should be made the same, and thus upon the 27. Day of *March, Anno Domini*, 1634. The Governour tooke position of the place, and named the Towne *Saint Maries*.<sup>22</sup>

Three days after the agreement was finalized the *Ark* and two pinnacles arrived, carrying the settlers and the supplies they had acquired. Everyone continued to live on the boats for a month. During that time a blockhouse and a storehouse were built and a palisade was constructed around the town. Five cannons were mounted on the fortification with seven others to be added at a later date.<sup>23</sup> When these structures were completed the supplies were unloaded and the colonists came ashore to construct "cottages" of wattle and daub with thatched roofs, and build a water-powered mill where corn could be ground into flour. The settlers had transported some seeds for planting as well as meal, oatmeal, peas and beans from England; they had also obtained a supply of Indian corn in Barbados. Additionally, the colonists traded with the Indians for food. In the previously mentioned 1635 pamphlet it stated,

They found also the countrey well stored with Corne (which they bought with truck [i.e. items for trade], such as there is desired, the Natiues having no knowledge of the use of money) whereof they sold them such plenty, as that they sent 1000 bushells of it to *New-England*, to provide them some salt-fish, and other commodities which they wanted.<sup>24</sup>

The settlers also acquired hens, goats, over one hundred pigs and some thirty cattle in Virginia.<sup>25</sup> They worked quickly so that "...within the space of sixe months was laid the foundation of the Colonie in Maryland."<sup>26</sup>

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22 [Cecil], *Relation*, 1635, pp. 6-7. Also see White, *A Relation*, 1634, pp. 1-5, which states on p. 4, "Our Towne wee call *Saint Maries*: and to avoid all iust occasion of offence, and collour of wrong, wee bought of the King [i.e. the Indian chief] for Hatchetts, Axes, Howes, and Clothes, a quantitie of some 30 miles of Land, which we call *Augusta Carolina*" and Ogilby, *America*, 1671, pp. 184-85. Regarding the meaning of *Wisoes*, as advisors, who are usually from the same family as the *Werowance*, see Ogilby, p. 190.

23 White, *A Relation*, 1634, p. 9 explained, "For our safety, wee haue built a good strong Fort or Palizado, and haue mounted vpon it one good piece of Ordnance, and 4 Murderers, and have seuen peeces of Ordnance more ready to mount forthwith [ordnance refer to larger cannons while murderers are small cannons]."

24 [Cecil], *Relation*, 1635, pp. 9-10. On the cottages see Menard, *Economy and Society*, p. 77.

25 White, *A Relation*, 1634, p. 9 stated, "Of Hoggs wee haue already got from *Achomack* (a plantation in *Virginia*) to the number of 100, and more: and some 30 Cowes; and more wee expect daily, with Goats and Hennes."

26 [Cecil], *Relation*, 1635, p. 11.

### Commodities and exchange during the first decades of settlement

During the early decades there were few settlers in Maryland. Before 1649 there were never more than 500 to 600 inhabitants, with at least half of the male population being indentured laborers.<sup>27</sup> Initially, local exchanges were conducted by barter or by using wampum,<sup>28</sup> beaver, corn or other commodities as money substitutes. These methods of exchange continued in use on a limited basis, but tobacco quickly became the basic medium of exchange between colonists. Occasionally, powder or shot was accepted as payment with one pound of powder equaling three pounds of shot. Also, when tobacco was unavailable, taxes were collected using corn or cattle as "country pay."<sup>29</sup>

During the first six months of the settlement, namely, April through September 1634, much time was spent building fortifications and homes, clearing and preparing farmland for cultivation, planting corn for food, hunting for meat, trading with the Indians and providing the colony with necessities such as a flour mill. There is no mention of tobacco in the accounts of the colony's first harvest. However, it does appear some tobacco was planted during the second growing season, that is, in 1635. In the 1635 pamphlet attributed to Thomas Cecil, describing the settlement and the first two growing seasons in the province, there is a chapter on locally grown commodities that does mention tobacco. It states,

In the first place I name Corne, as the thing most necessary to sustaine man... Also the Natives have a sort of *Pulse*, which we call *Pease* and *Beanes*, that are very good. This Corne yeelds a great increase, so doth the *Pease* and *Beanes*: One man may in a season, well plant so much as will yeeld a hundred bushells of this Corne, 20 bushells of *Beanes* and *Pease*, and yet attend a crop of *Tobacco*: which according to the goodnesse of the ground may be more or lesse, but is ordinarily accompted betweene 800 and 1000 pound weight.<sup>30</sup>

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27 McCusker and Menard, 1991, p. 136 estimates the population at 600 by the end of the 1640s; 700 by the end of the 1650s; 4,000 by the end of the 1660s; 11,400 by the end of the 1670s; 20,000 by the end of the 1680s; 26,200 by the late 1690s and 34,100 by the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century. The chart simply gives the first year of the decade, but it is clear the totals refer to the end of the decade when one compares them with the specific totals for 1704 (30,673) and 1755 (107,209) included in a chart on the previous page [in the chart on p. 136 we find 1700, that is, the end of the decade of the 1700s with an estimated population of 34,100 and 1750, again the end of the decade of the 1750s, with a population of 141,100]. Menard estimated a population of 340 to 390 in 1642, Menard, *Economy and Society*, pp. 57-58. On the percentage of indentured servants, see D. Jordan, pp. 14-16 and Menard, *Economy and Society*, pp. 70-81, who include some examples of free individuals without land such as Thomas Passmore, a carpenter, John Cockshott, a joiner and Randall Revell, a cooper.

28 In addition to the general histories, see the pamphlet, [Cecil], *Relation*, 1635, p. 36, that discusses wampum as follows: "...to speak of the *Indian* money of those parts, It is of two sorts, *Wompompeag* and *Roanoake*; both of them are made of a Fish-shell, that they gather by the Sea side, *Wompompeag* is of the greater sort, and *Roanoake* of the lesser, and the *Wompompeag* is three times the value of *Roanoake*; and these serue as Gold and Siluer doe heere; they barter also one commoditie for another, and are very glad of traffice and commerce, so farre as to supply their necessities: They shew no great desire of heaping wealth, yet some [i.e. wampum] they will have to be buried with them." This pamphlet was meant to be read in England, thus the reference to the beads serving "as Gold and Siluer doe heere" refers to England. The wording in the pamphlet was not meant to imply that gold and silver were commonly used as money in Maryland at that time. Also see, Ogilby, *America*, 1671, p. 191 who adds "...*Wompompeage* is the largest Bead, sixty whereof countervails an Arms length of *Roanoack*, which is valued at six Pence *Sterling*; with this they purchase Commodities of the English, as Trading-Cloth, etc. of which they make themselves Mantles,..." [note: the 1635 text uses *roanoake* and *wompompeag*, while Ogilby uses *roanoack* and *wompompeage*, the spelling of these terms vary in the sources. I shall use *roanoke* and *wampumpeag*, unless I am quoting sources].

29 Scharf, vol. 1, pp. 93, 115, 273-74. On country pay see Mossman, pp. 43-45.

30 [Cecil], *Relation*, 1635, p. 22.

It is likely a more significant crop of tobacco was planted in the spring of 1636. This crop would have been harvested in mid-September and then cured so that it would have been ready for packing and distribution by November or December. Unfortunately, the earliest records of the province are lost, but when the extant records first appear, at the start of January 1637, we find tobacco was already in general use as the basic form of payment, since among the earliest surviving documents are court warrants referring to money owed in tobacco from a time before the January court action was brought forward. It appears that once the tobacco crop was planted in the spring of 1636, individuals began to purchase items on credit, anticipating they would be able to pay in tobacco following the fall harvest and curing of their crop.<sup>31</sup>

The records of the Maryland Provincial Court begin with three warrants from December 30, 1636, attaching certain persons and cattle. The next three warrants relate to payments and they all express payment in terms of tobacco. A warrant was issued on January 1, 1637, against Andrew Chappell by the carpenter, Thomas Passmore, "in an action of debt of 1200 wt. of tobacco" and on January 3rd there was "a warrant agst John Hillierd planter at the suite of Roger Moy, in an action of debt of five hundred & thirty pound of tobacco." On January 8th it was recorded that "Robert nicholls of St maries hundred planter, and acknowledgeth himselfe to owe vnto John Lewger Secretary, foure hundred & twenty six pounds of good merchantable tobacco, to be paid vnto the said John Lewger his heires exequutors admrators or assignes, at the first season of striking tobacco the next yeare."<sup>32</sup> From this point, through the dissolution of the proprietorship on August 1, 1689, and beyond, tobacco was the mainstay of the Maryland economy.<sup>33</sup>

Sometimes an indication of the relative value of money substitutes can be found in the provincial court records. From an inventory of the estate of the St. Mary's planter Justinian Snowe, presented to the court on May 24, 1639, we discover an arm's length of roanoke, or wampum, was valued at six pounds of tobacco.<sup>34</sup> However, a few years later, in a case from December 1, 1643, it was suggested that an arm's length of roanoke was valued at slightly over ten pounds of tobacco and a pound of beaver fur was valued at just over 100 pounds of tobacco.<sup>35</sup> Interestingly, in a decision of the same court, just six weeks later, on January 16, 1643/4, the court had to estimate the value of scraps or remnants from beaver pelts. In the decision the judge "to the best of his remembrance" determined that three remnants, which when weighed together equaled one pound, were to be valued at 72 pounds of tobacco (the previous valuation, which was far more common in Maryland, was valuing intact beaver pelts by the pound).<sup>36</sup> These examples show that values fluctuated over time, based on supply and the quality of the product, and further demonstrates the standard for value was tobacco.

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31 See Menard, *Economy and Society*, p. 66.

32 All three documents are from *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 4, p. 4.

33 Tobacco continued to be a significant form of currency until about 1750, see Gould, pp. 70-73.

34 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 4, p. 84 (inventory begins on p. 79), states, "It[em] rec[ieved] of Nicholas Hervey, 20 armes length of roanoke wch in tobacco at 6l p [6 pounds per] armes length is ... 0120 [this is a four column tally representing 120s]."

35 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 4, p. 214. The case, in which John Hollis demanded payment from the estate of John Robinson, concluded with, "Vpon the plts [plaintiff's] oath to the demand abovesaid the Judge found that he should recover 677l tob [677 pounds of tobacco] for 67 armes length of roanoke, and 1350l tob [1350 pounds of tobacco] for 13l 1/2 [13.5 pounds] beaver [that is, beaver pelts]."

36 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 4, p. 227, George Binx petitioner against Thomas Wetherly for transporting Robert Nicolls (who was indebted to Binx) out of Maryland. In the decision of this case the clerk recorded that the judge "to the best of his remembrance the Cort [court] valuing beaver at 72l tob [72 pounds of tobacco] p[er] 3/3 [I assume this represents three scraps or remnants of a beaver pelt that together equal one pound, since it is expressed as a fraction] adjudged the petr [petitioner] should recover agst [against] the said wetherly 116l of tob [116 pounds of tobacco]."

However, it is clear a variety of items were commonly used in making payments. For example, on January 13-15, 1643/4, we find a series of lawsuits were brought to the court to recover debts owed. As was typical of that period, a first party was required to sue a second party who was indebted to the first party, so that the first party could pay a third party who was suing the first party for indebtedness! In the excerpt given below, we see Todd sues Cornwallis (Cornwaleys) to get funds to pay Hollis, who, in turn, is suing Todd for funds because he (Hollis) is being sued by Brent. In these various debts we find tobacco, corn, beaver, roanoke and even a "good porker" were used as payment. The full court record for January 13th and the start of the record for the 15th states,

1643

January 13. Thomas Todd demandeth of Capt. Tho [Thomas] Cornwaleys Esq, 5000<sup>l</sup> tob [5000 pounds of tobacco] due by accot [account] as p [per] file. the said Tho. Cornwaleys denieth the demand to be due. And the Court found for the pl [plaintiff] 1560<sup>l</sup> tob [1560 pounds of tobacco] and a good porker, & one barrell & halfe of corne.

Cutbert ffennick demandeth of John wavill 3<sup>l</sup> beaver [3 pounds of beaver pelts] due by acct [account] for goods to that value.

John Hollis demandeth of Thomas Todd, & Thomas Jackson 734<sup>l</sup> tob [734 pounds of tobacco] & cask due by bill:

John holis demandeth of Thomas Todd 6<sup>l</sup> of beaver [6 pounds of beaver pelts] & 40 armes lenth of roanoke, due by accot [account]

15. Margarett Brent demandeth of John Hollis & ffrancis Gray Exeq: [executors] of James Cauther 66<sup>l</sup> beaver [66 pounds of beaver pelts] & 1300<sup>l</sup> tob [1300 pounds of tobacco] due by bill assigned from mr Ludlow of virgin; [Virginia] ...<sup>37</sup>

A court document from February 13, 1643/4, sums up the basic methods of payment. In this document Governor Leonard Calvert gave Peter Draper power of attorney to collect debts owed to Calvert "by bond bills or accts [accounts] or any other waies [ways] in mony beaver tobacco or corne, or any other things...."<sup>38</sup>

We can get a sense of how significant these various items were in daily trade by quantifying the various types of payments listed in the court records. Typically, court records will involve more substantial transactions that were the object of lawsuits; small change transactions are rarely reflected. It is quite possible daily exchanges for a halfpenny or a farthing value, may have been transacted using roanoke or possibly, on occasion, small coins such as the cut silver, coppers,

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<sup>37</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 4, p. 227. The record reflects that the court found for the plaintiff Margaret Brent and proceeded with a writ of attachment for the lands, goods and chattel of Hollis and Gray unless half of the debt was paid before February 15th. No resolution is mentioned regarding the requests of Fennick or Hollis.

<sup>38</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 4, p. 252. For "waies" as ways, rather than wise, see other uses on pp. 211 and 450. Also, in this context "beaver" refers to beaver pelts.

tokens, jettons and patent copper farthings that have recently been uncovered at archeological excavations of early colonial sites in Virginia.<sup>39</sup> The court records are silent on small transactions.

Quantification of the various money substitutes used in the court registers is possible because the Maryland State Archives has greatly assisted researchers by offering an online version of all the published volumes of the state and provincial records. This website is particularly useful since it provides researchers a search option so one can find all the occurrences of a specific word in a volume of the records. In searching the first volume of court records, covering the period December 30, 1637 – March 5, 1650/1, tobacco was mentioned 562 times, corn 138, beaver 63, and roanoke (wampum) 24 times, with only one reference to a coin.<sup>40</sup>

The one citation to a specific coin comes from the inventory of the estate of “Richard Lee gent deceased” that was delivered to the court on March 31, 1639. Among his possessions was a cut coin, namely, a one-third piece of a hammered gold coin called an angel, most likely dating from the reign of Henry VIII; the inventory entry stated, “[t]em. a piece of a broken Harry Angell 0 3 4.” The numbers are in a column to the right representing values in pounds, shillings and pence, so this item was valued at 3s4d.<sup>41</sup>

There are certainly other citations to coinage, but unfortunately they are difficult to identify and quantify. One example, from March 20, 1638/9, regarding the disposition of the estate of John Saunders to his heir, Valentine Saunders, by the executor, Thomas Cornwallis, (Cornwaleys) states:

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39 The Fort James excavations have uncovered some English silver from the reign of Queen Elizabeth; (a one-eighth wedge of a shilling at 1.5d; two sixpence, of which one was cut and holed for use as a pendant; two halfgroats, of which one was halved to 1d and the other was rolled into a cylindrical shape and used as jewelry; and a threehalfpence, halved to 3 farthings); as well as six Irish copper pennies and one halfpenny minted in Dublin during the reign of Queen Elizabeth in 1601 and 1602; a Harington farthing and a rose farthing; a German sechsling of 1629 from Lubeck; a Dutch two stuivers copper from Zeeland dated 161- (last digit worn off); and ninety jettons, several are the rose and orb jettons of Hans Krauwinkel II (master in Nuremburg, Germany, 1586-1635) but with at least one from France dating to the reign of Henry III; as well as several lead tokens and coin weights (Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, *Interim Reports on the Excavations at Jamestown*: 1994, pp. 24-25; 1995, pp. 8 and 28-29; 1996, pp. 22-25 with figures 27-28; 1997, pp. 20-21 with figures 26-27 and 1998, p. 7; see, Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, *Jamestown Rediscovery*, pamphlet III, pp. 47-53 with figures 35-38 and 44; pamphlet V, figure 10 and pamphlet VII, p. 4 with figures 4 and 26a; also see some illustrations and discussion of these coins on the APVA website at the URL [www.apva.org/ngex/xcoins.html](http://www.apva.org/ngex/xcoins.html) (last accessed December 20, 2003). Additionally, finds of patent farthings from early Virginia are discussed in Hume, pp. 233-50, especially figures 2, 4 and pp. 247-49 and in Kays, “Yorktown Farthing Caches,” who discusses two clay pots discovered in Yorktown, one containing 80 farthings and the other 100 farthings, thought to have been brought over ca. 1665, since one of the caches also contained a Scottish coin that dated to ca. 1663.

40 To find all the citations to tobacco one must search tob., the most common abbreviation for tobacco in the records, and then also search the abbreviation tobo. and tobacco, since these forms are also used. For corn one must use corne, since the word corn will bring up citations to the Cornwallis (Cornwaleys) family. Also, the records regularly use “roanoke” for all wampum without making any distinction between the higher valued blue “wampumpeag” as opposed to the lower valued white roanoke.

41 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 4, p. 97, with the inventory starting on p. 76. The gold angel, named for the image of St. Michael the Archangel spearing a dragon on the obverse of the coin, was first minted under Edward IV during his second coinage issue of 1464-70 and was originally valued at 6s8d, later raised to 10s. At 10s per coin a one-third piece would equal 3s4d. A “Harry Angell” could refer to an angel of Henry VII (1485-1509) or Henry VIII (1509-47); in 1639 it seems more probable that a Henry VIII example would be the Harry angel being described. According to *Coincraft's 2000 Standard Catalogue of English and UK Coins*, published by Richard Lobel, et. al., 1999, London: Coincraft, p. 151, angels continued to be minted at the Tower mint until 1643, during the reign of Charles I, however, the *Standard Catalogue of British Coins: Coins of England and the United Kingdom*, 37th ed. 2002, London: Spink, p. 255, lists 1642 as the terminal date. The Massachusetts Bay ten-shilling paper currency note from the October 14, 1713 emission was designated as an angel; this plate was reused several times for emissions up to 1740.

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Thomas Cornwaleys had received of the proceed of both the stocks of the trade, and the pinnacle one hundred and eleven pound & one halfe of beaver, and nine pound one shilling in mony; & that he had disbursed for the vse & vpon the accompt of the said valentine Saunders, one hundred twenty eight pound three quarters of beaver, and nine pound ten shillings in mony ...<sup>42</sup>

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Clearly from the items John Saunders left behind, as well as from the sale of his “stocks of the trade” and the sale of his one-eighth share in the pinnacle *Dove*, Cornwallis obtained 128.75 pounds of beaver pelts and £9 10s in money, most probably in Spanish American cobs, possibly mixed with some Dutch, French, German or maybe even a few English coins. It seems quite likely some coinage was included in this transaction, but we can only guess as to what kind of coinage may have been used.

Other examples give us even less information. On April 5, 1643, attorney Francis Gray representing Randall Revell, a cooper, demanded payment from Colonel Francis Trafford. Gray stated that Trafford owed Revell 9s in money for poultry purchased on credit, in addition to a debt of 50 pounds of tobacco for wages incurred when Revell performed work for Trafford. The court record states this as, “Randoll Revell p [per, that is, through] franc Gray demandeth of Colonell Trafford 9s in mony for poultry, & 50<sup>l</sup> tob for work.”<sup>43</sup> It seems Revell hoped to collect the 9s debt in silver coinage. If Revell was ever paid in coinage is not mentioned, since actual payments are rarely entered into the court record. Revell may have been paid in coinage; it is also possible he was paid 9s worth of beaver or tobacco. Citations stating an amount in money may refer to actual coinage, or, they may simply refer to value.

While citations to “mony” are problematic, quotations of an amount in sterling regularly refer to sterling value, not to sterling coinage. Again, the currency actually transferred in settlement is not usually specified in the court records, but in a few examples the method of payment is mentioned. From these few cases, where the court recorder took the time to add this extra information, we can easily recognize the distinction between a debt denominated in sterling value and the actual items used to pay that debt. In the estate inventory of Justinian Snowe, which, as was mentioned, was delivered to the court on May 24, 1639, it notes among the items owed to the estate was a debt of £6 sterling owed by the administrator of the estate, Thomas Gerard. This represents a prior payment made by Snowe, Gerard’s sponsor, for the latter’s fare from England to Maryland for which Gerard was still indebted. However, in the lists of payments owed to the estate it is clear the debt of £6 sterling was actually to be paid in tobacco as it stated, “The Admrator [administrator]; six pound sterling for his passage out of England, wch in tobacco at 3d p<sup>l</sup> [per pound] is 0480 [i.e., 480 pounds]” and in the list of debts paid we discover the debt was paid in tobacco “of the Admrator for 6<sup>l</sup> [6 pounds] sterling, wch in tob: at 3d p<sup>l</sup> is 0480.” That is, at the rate of 3d per pound for tobacco, 480 pounds of tobacco were paid to cover the £6 sterling debt.<sup>44</sup>

From these court records we can conclude citations to “money” may indicate some type of coinage was involved, as in the disposition of the Saunders estate, but, in other cases, as in Revell vs. Trafford, it may only be a quantification of value or a form of payment desired and may not represent the actual method of payment used to effect the transaction. Further, as we saw in the Snowe estate, citations to “sterling” are meant as a quantification of value and not as a form of payment. Thus, although the court records reflect some use of coinage, it is difficult to interpret specifically when coinage was actually used. Further, even when it seems probable that coinage

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42 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 4, p. 14.

43 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 4, p. 196.

44 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 4, pp. 84-85, with the inventory starting on p. 79.

was actually involved, one can only guess as to what varieties of coinage may have been employed.

Just as we have seen that the interpretation of the word “mony” as it is used in the sources is problematic, we find it is difficult to interpret the role of powder and shot as a money substitute, based on the citations found in the court records. Powder and shot are mentioned 27 times in the first printed volume of the court records, often in estate inventories. In this context, it is impossible to know if powder and shot were held and used as money substitutes or simply as supplies. The Maryland legislature never made shot legal tender, as had been done in Massachusetts Bay. Most occurrences that include an explanation indicate the items were not being used as a money substitute. For instance, in the interrogations conducted between October 17 and November 3, 1642, of the members of Giles Brent’s expeditionary force against the Susquehannock Indians, shot and powder were clearly treated as a supply. One question asked in the interrogation of the expedition members was “... did you your selfe or have you heard any other and how many were they as you remember, complaine to the said Giles Brent or to others who might relate it to him in words to this effect, that if he the said Giles Brent should take one pound of powder & 5<sup>l</sup> [5 pounds] of shott for every one design<sup>d</sup> to the expedition out of that present store of ammunition, many houses would be left wholly destitute...?”<sup>45</sup> Thus, like the citations to “mony” the references to powder and shot in the court records cannot be meaningfully quantified as representing the use of those items in daily exchanges.<sup>46</sup>

Monetary statistics derived from the early Maryland court registers have several limitations. They can give a general indication as to the predominant methods of payment for more substantial purchases but they are of little assistance in understanding small daily transactions or in uncovering the role of coins, and particularly the role of specific varieties of coins, in daily trade. Also, for some products, like powder and shot, it is difficult to determine when the items were offered as a money substitute since, when an explanation is included, the item is usually treated as a consumable commodity. Realizing these limitations, below is a chart quantifying the citations to the most frequently mentioned money substitutes in the court records. The three time periods on the chart are based on the publication divisions for the three volumes of the provincial court records; the first volume begins with December 30, 1637, and continues through March 5, 1650/1; the second volume covers some unpublished documents missing from the first volume, dating from February 1649/50, and continues through December of 1657; volume three covers the years 1658 through 1662. The first volume covers approximately thirteen years while the next volume only documents a period of about seven years and the third volume is limited to recording just five years of court proceedings. Because the time periods are unequal I have estimated the annual average citations for each money substitute and included that information in the chart italicized in parentheses; this number was mathematically derived and rounded to the nearest tenth. It is

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45 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 4, p. 130.

46 In order to keep the province supplied with powder and shot it was legislated in “An Acte for Porte duties” during the General Assembly of April 17 – May 2, 1661, “That all Vessells whatsoever not properly belonging to this Province hauing a deck flush fore and afte comeing in and tradeing within the Province shall pay for Porte duties or Anchorage halfe a pound of powder and three pounds of Shott or soe much in vallue for every Tunne of Burthen to the Lord Proprietary and his heires.” However, it appears that the tonnage payment was used by the province as a supply rather than as a circulating money substitute. See *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 418.



included to aid in making comparisons over these unequal time periods. The era covered includes the entire period up through the emission of the Baltimore coinage.<sup>47</sup>

Commodity money	Occurrences in court records 1638-50	Occurrences in court records 1651-57	Occurrences in court records 1658-62
Tobacco	562 (43.2)*	591 (84.4)	482 (96.4)
Indian Corn	138 (10.6)	65 (9.2)	63 (12.6)
Beaver	63 (4.8)	16 (2.3)	10 (2)
Roanoke	24 (1.8)	2 (0.3)	9 (1.8)

\*The average annual number of occurrences per time period is italicized in parentheses.

The chart shows that tobacco was the predominant commodity money with corn used about one-fourth as often as tobacco in the early period and then, after mid-century, dropping to about one-ninth as often. Beaver and roanoke were used in the earlier period, but not as frequently as tobacco or corn. Beaver was cited a little less than half as often as corn and just a little more than one-tenth as frequently as tobacco. However, all but four of the citations to beaver in the first volume of the published court records date from the first seven years of the extant records, 1638-44, thereafter citations are rare, thus the annual average falls more quickly than the above table indicates. We also see that roanoke was infrequently mentioned in provincial court transactions, with even far fewer citations than beaver pelts. The fur trade continued, but it was a far less significant portion of the economy than the production of tobacco. Consequently, furs were less commonly accepted as a money substitute. As the province developed an agricultural economy, the use of beaver and roanoke as commodity monies dropped to marginal levels while tobacco dominated as the commodity money of choice.<sup>48</sup>

47 The three volumes of the provincial court records are *Archives of Maryland*, vols. 4, 10 and 41. The provincial court was held quarterly at St. Mary's with the governor and his council presiding. Small claims were handled locally by the county courts that were held about six times a year, with appeals being taken to the provincial court. This comparison could be extended to the end of the century with later volumes of the Maryland Provincial Court, and supplemented with the judgments from the Maryland Chancery Court and the records of the various county courts found in *Archives of Maryland*, as follows: the Maryland Provincial Court, 1663-83, in vols. 49, 57, 65-70; the Maryland Chancery Court, 1669-79, in vol. 51; Maryland Court of Appeals, 1695-1729 in vol. 77; Charles County Court, 1658-62 and 1666-74, in vols. 53 and 60; Kent County Court 1662-74 and 1676-98, in vols. 54 and 557 with later colonial records in vols. 467 and 548; Prince George's County Court, 1696-99 in vol. 202; Somerset County Court 1665-68 and 1670-77, 1683, 1687-96, 1760-63 in vols. 54, 86-91, 106, 191, 405-407, 535 and 543; and Talbot County Court, 1662-74, in vol. 54. Also, for a history of the various county courthouses and a discussion of surviving court records, see vols. 545 and 546.

48 See Gould, pp. 48-73 on the use of tobacco as currency in Maryland. Typically, tobacco credits and debits were recorded in ledgers throughout the year, probably confirmed with signed promissory notes. Usually the tobacco would be collected once a year from the planter's warehouse after the fall harvest and then distributed as required. The warehouses were located along the coast so that the hogsheads could be transported by boat. It was the responsibility of the receiver to check the contents before accepting tobacco as payment (for an example see *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 4, p. 15, in the case from February 25, 1637). It was not until 1747 that Maryland finally adopted a standardized system of public officials inspecting packed hogsheads for quality, weight and condition and issuing transferable tobacco receipts for the contents of the inspected barrels.

We are fortunate to have a booklet describing Maryland that was written in 1666 by George Alsop, an inhabitant of the province who spent four years indentured on the plantation of Thomas Stockett in Baltimore County and then remained in the area working on his own. Unlike most contemporary authors, who relied on reports from colonists rather than personal experiences, Alsop was a witness to the events he documented. In his dedicatory letter to Lord Baltimore, Alsop explained "What I present I know to be true *Experientia docet*; It being an infallible Maxim, *That there is no Globe like the occular and experimental view of a Countrey*." <sup>49</sup>

The text, written after Alsop had completed his indenture, explains the state of affairs in the 1660s. Possibly Alsop produced this work in the hope of gaining some favor, or some remuneration, from Lord Baltimore.<sup>50</sup> This booklet contains our most extensive firsthand discussion of trade, farming and exchange in early colonial Maryland. It explains that Indians trapped and skinned animals and then sold the furs to the settlers. In New Netherland the Dutch traded wampum and other supplies to the Indians for skins and this was probably also the case in Maryland. However, it is quite evident that in Maryland the trade in tobacco was far more significant than the trade in peltry. Alsop describes how tobacco was grown and harvested. Because hard money was in such short supply, he rather humorously suggested some advantages of living in Maryland were that the colonists were rarely, if ever, afraid of being robbed of coins, nor did they need to dirty their fingers from counting out quantities of coinage, the inference being there were few coins to either steal or count. Alsop also commented that one was far more likely to see a bag of corn than a bag of coins. Indeed, he explained, "Tobacco is the currant Coyn of *Mary-Land*, and will sooner purchase Commodities from the Merchant, then money" [in this context "will sooner purchase Commodities from the Merchant" does not refer to a preference for tobacco over silver, but rather, means tobacco "will be more likely to be used to purchase commodities from a merchant"]. Alsop's text follows:

The three main Commodities this Country affords for Trafique, [i.e. trade] are Tobacco, Furrs, and Flesh. Furrs and Skins, as Beavers, Otter, Musk-Rats, Rackoons, Wild-Cats, and Elke or Buffeloe, with divers others, which were first made vendible by the *Indians* of the Country, and sold to the Inhabitant, and by them to the Merchant, and so transported into *England* and other places where it becomes most commodious.

Tobacco is the only solid Staple Commodity of this Province: The use of it was first found out by the *Indians* many Ages agoe, and transferr'd into Christendom by the great Discoverer of *America Columbus*: It's generally made by all the Inhabitants of this Province, and between the months of *March* and *April* they sow the seed, (which is much smaller then Mustard-seed) in small beds and patches digg'd up and made so by art, and about *May* the Plants commonly appear green in those beds: In *June* they are transplanted from their beds, and set in little hillocks in distant rowes, dug up for the same purpose; some twice or thrice they are weeded, and succoured from their illegitimate Leaves that would be peeping out of the body of the Stalk. They top the several Plants as they find occasion in their predominating rankness: About the middle of *September* they cut the Tobacco down, and carry it into houses, (made for that purpose) to bring it to its purity: And after it has attained by a convenient attendance upon time, to is perfection, it is then tyed up in bundles, and packt into Hogs-heads, and then laid by for the Trade.

Between *November* and *January* there arrives in this Province Shipping to the number of twenty sail and upwards, all Merchant-men loaden with Commodities to Trafique and dispose of, trucking [trading] with the Planter for Silks, Hollands [linen], Serges [worsted wool], and Broad-clothes [plain-wove black cloth], with other necessary Goods, priz'd at such and such rates as shall be

49 Alsop, pp. A<sub>3</sub>-A<sub>4</sub>. *Experientia docet* translates as "Experience teaches."

50 Hall, pp. 337-39.

judg'd on is fair and legal, for Tobacco at so much the pound, and advantage on both sides considered; the Planter for his work, and the Merchant for adventuring himself and his Commodity into so far a Country: Thus it is the Trade on both sides drove on with a fair and honest *Decorum*.

The Inhabitants of this Province are seldom or never put to affrightment of being robb'd of their money, nor to dirty their Fingers by telling [counting] of vast sums: They have more bags to carry Corn, then Coyn; and though they want, but why should I call that a want which is only a necessary miss? The very effects of the dirt of this Province affords as great a profit to the general Inhabitant, as the Gold of *Peru* doth to the straight-breecht Commonalty of the *Spaniard*.

Our Shops and Exchanges of *Mary-Land*, are the Merchants Store-houses, where with few words and protestations Goods are bought and delivered; not like those Shop-keepers Boys in *London*, that continually cry, *What do ye lack Sir? What d'ye buy?* Yelping with so wide a mouth, as if some Apothecary had hired their mouth to stand open to catch Gnats and Vagabond Flies in.

Tobacco is the currant Coyn of *Mary-Land*, and will sooner purchase Commodities from the Merchant, then money. I must confess the *New-England* men that trade into this Province, had rather have fat Pork for their Goods, then Tobacco or Furs; which I conceive is, because their bodies being fast bound up with the cords of restraining Zeal, they are fain to make use of the lineaments of this *Non-Canaanite* creature physically to loosen them...<sup>51</sup> [Alsop theorized the strict moral code of the New England Puritans kept them from using tobacco and from wearing fine furs].

Clearly, tobacco was the driving force of the early Maryland economy. Thus, it seems the best indicator of economic change would be to chart the annual price fluctuations of Maryland tobacco. By the price of tobacco I mean the average farm price, that is, the average price a planter received when he, or his agent, negotiated a price with a merchant who then transported the tobacco to England. As Menard has observed, "Shrewd bargainers with a large volume, high-quality crop fared better than the small producer, inept at negotiations, with a poor crop."<sup>52</sup> There was always some fluctuation above and below the average price, but, in general, the average price was the most common rate for merchantable tobacco during that growing season. One should also recall, as Alsop mentioned, that planters did not always receive sterling bills of exchange for their tobacco, but rather, they often actually traded their tobacco for manufactured goods based on a negotiated sterling value per pound for the tobacco. Thus, for many smaller planters, the annual tobacco rate represents an average of how much trading power a planter would have per pound of tobacco when they visited the "Merchant-men loaden with Commodities."

Unfortunately, trying to determine the value of Maryland or Chesapeake (which includes both Virginia and Maryland) tobacco, on an annual basis is quite difficult during the early years, due to the scarcity of surviving records. For example, for 1638 there are only four extant records of tobacco prices, one at 4d and three at 3d per pound, while in 1639 there are just three records, all at 3d [all tobacco prices given here are in sterling]. However, in 1640 there are records of four sales of tobacco at 3d per pound; one sale at 2.5d; two sales at 2.4d; and one sale at 1.2d per pound, along with an anomaly mentioning a price of 12d per pound. From this scant evidence we can estimate an average price of 3d per pound for 1638 and 1639, while for 1640 the average price is 2.5d per pound, excluding the unusual 12d example. There is also a complaint from 1640 mentioning the "vile esteem and rate" of tobacco, which leads one to assume that, indeed, the price

<sup>51</sup> Alsop, pp. 49-53; Hall, pp. 363-64. The term "straight-breecht" probably refers to the design of an article of clothing called breech (now always used in the plural as breeches). It is a pair of pants that only comes down to the knees.

<sup>52</sup> Menard, "Farm Prices," p. 81

was probably falling in 1640. Thus, although we have more records of sales at 3d in 1640 (a total of four) than we have for either of the other two years, the larger number of sale records and the surviving comment indicate, in general, the price of tobacco was falling that year. In later years, especially from 1659 and thereafter, more records have survived and the average annual price of tobacco is more reliable. However, even when the average is more reliable, one must remember it is still an average, and individual sales may have certainly fluctuated up or down from the average.<sup>53</sup>

By reviewing the annual average farm price for Chesapeake, and especially Maryland tobacco, we can identify some broad trends in the rates. These values and trends will help us to understand the relationship between tobacco and silver coinage, both in the 1662 exchange of Baltimore silver for tobacco and in the later legislative initiatives for the advancement of coinage. Based on tobacco prices in Virginia, we know tobacco returns had been highest during the early years, before the settlement of Maryland. In the period from 1618 through 1625 tobacco often sold at 36d per pound. By the time Maryland was established the value of tobacco had declined. During the first two years of the Maryland harvests, 1635-36, tobacco sold at 5d to 6d per pound. In 1637 tobacco fell to 3d and then remained around that level through 1639. In 1640 the price dropped and complaints about the low rate for tobacco continued annually through 1643. The records for 1644-45 are sparse and fluctuate from 6d down to 0.7d, but overall indicate an increase in price to around 2.5d per pound. From 1646-49 tobacco averaged just under 2.2d per pound, with individual sales ranging from 3d to 1.4d. Unfortunately there are no extant farm prices from 1650-52, but from 1653-58 tobacco averaged 2.3d per pound. The price may have dipped somewhat in 1656, at least for some planters, since we have some complaints about the low rate. The four extant prices from 1656 list individual sales at 1d, 1.5d, 2.4d and 4d that average out to just over 2.2d per pound, but reflecting some sales at lower levels. From 1659-63 the price was about 1.5d per pound and then fell for three years, reaching a low of 0.9d in 1666. In the period from 1667-70 the price rebounded slightly and then dropped to 1d per pound through 1676; it then rose slightly for two years before falling back to 1d in 1679-80. In the following years tobacco dropped down to 0.8d through 1684, then rose to 1d in 1685-86 before falling to between 0.85d and 0.75d in 1687-95. The price then rebounded slightly, reaching 1d per pound in 1698, and stayed at that level until 1702. Tobacco then fell again to about 0.8d to 0.9d through 1712 and then rose to between 1d and 1.5d through 1738 reaching 1.74d per pound by 1740. This information is summarized below as a table.

53 These are mean average farm prices taken from Menard, *Economy and Society*, tables A-6 through A-9 on pp. 475-78; also see, pp. 67, 279-87 and 465-74. For the years through 1658 the prices include data from Virginia and thus reflect general Chesapeake tobacco prices, while later dates reflect the mean average farm prices limited to Maryland tobacco. Menard notes that he gives the prices in pence sterling. Also on p. 468, regarding the prices through 1659, Menard cautions as follows: "Table 1 summarizes information on tobacco prices gathered from correspondence, accounts of sales, promotional literature, court records, official proclamations, and legislative acts. The prices, it should be noted, are not strictly comparable. Promotional writers often exaggerate prices, correspondents frequently understate them. Farm prices differ from English wholesale prices, while planters who sold on consignment received a different price from those who sold locally. Prices found in Acts of Assembly are often higher or lower than the prevailing market price depending on the intention of the legislature. If these limits are kept in mind and the data used with caution, the table can provide a useful guide to the general level of tobacco prices for most years from 1618 to 1660."

**Summary table of trends for the average farm price of Chesapeake tobacco (through 1658) and then Maryland tobacco (1659-1740) derived from the research of Russell Robert Menard**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Average farm price in pence sterling per pound of tobacco</b>
1635-36	5 to 6d
1637-39	3d
1640-43	price drop
1644-45	about 2.5d
1646-49	2.175d
1650-52	no records
1653-58	2.3d
1659-63	1.5d
1664-66	drop to 0.9d
1667-70	1.15d
1671-76	1d
1677-78	1.15d
1679-80	1d
1681-84	0.8d
1685-86	1d
1687-95	from 0.85d down to 0.75d
1696-97	0.85d up to 0.95d
1698-1702	1d
1703-12	0.8 up to 0.9d
1713-38	1 to 1.5d
1739-40	1.6 to 1.7d

This summary of annual statistics is taken from Menard, *Economy and Society*, tables A-6 through A-9 on pp. 475-78; also see, pp. 67, 279-87 and 465-74.

**The relationship of tobacco to coinage in the economy of early Maryland**

It has sometimes been suggested that Lord Baltimore produced his coinage to replace tobacco as the basic medium of exchange. In his discussion of Baltimore coinage, Sylvester Crosby quoted extensively from a paper by Sebastian F. Streeter.<sup>54</sup> In that paper Streeter explained the overproduction of tobacco resulted in its consequent diminution in value. Streeter continued that the depression in tobacco prices caused several fiscal problems. He explained that at one point

54 Sebastian Ferris Streeter (1810-64) was a schoolmaster and principal of a young womens' academy (sometimes called a seminary) in Baltimore. Streeter served as the secretary of the Maryland Historical Society and wrote on the early history of Maryland. Streeter's paper on Baltimore coinage had not been published in his 76-page work, *Maryland Two Hundred Years Ago: A Discourse*, (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1852) nor was it in his 315-page posthumously published work, *Papers Relating to the Early History of Maryland*, (Baltimore: J. Murphy, 1876). Crosby, whose text was completed in 1875, appears to have obtained permission to use extracts from an unpublished paper in the Streeter estate. At just about the same time, several of Streeter's unpublished papers were collected by his widow and issued as the 1876 book. There had been two factions in the Maryland Historical Society in Streeter's time. In the post-Civil War discussion, that was part of the proceeding of the 1867 State Convention printed in the *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 74, pp. 377-78, it stated, "The Historical Society was controlled by New England Puritans, who had no sympathy with us, but whose constant effort was to exalt everything pertaining to their own section. ... Their secretary, up to the time of his death, was Mr. Sebastian F. Streeter. These same parties had endeavored to get control of the Peabody Institute, and were only foiled in it by the direct interposition of Mr. Peabody himself. Mr. Wethered said this same Mr. Streeter had written a lying history of Maryland, which Mr. Davis had exposed in the Day Star."

Lord Baltimore was required to pay his hitherto unpaid soldiers with cattle and that in 1650 a poll tax was collected in corn; he further stated "powder and shot were also common articles of currency." Because of this state of affairs, Streeter suggested that Lord Baltimore "...began to entertain the idea of providing a currency for his colony, which would greatly diminish the obstacles then existing in the way of trade, and, it was hoped, prove profitable to him, as well as advantageous to the colony."<sup>55</sup> Breen adopted this argument, explaining that as tobacco production increased, the value of tobacco fell, causing prices, denominated in pounds of tobacco, to soar. Breen cited the use of payment in cattle as an illustration of the economic problems and suggested Baltimore coinage was minted to remedy this situation.<sup>56</sup>

There are both valid points and problems with this analysis. One obvious factor was a belief that Maryland coinage would help promote trade and industry, and, as we shall see below, this argument is mentioned in the 1661 Maryland coinage act. However, Cecil Calvert kept Maryland functioning as a manorial fiefdom based on tobacco plantations rather than developing a mercantile center. There is no evidence Baltimore ever intended to replace tobacco or to change the economic structure of the colony.<sup>57</sup> The population lived on manorial estates dispersed throughout the counties, with no major urban area. Calvert's primary economic and political power derived from his control over land grants from which he collected rents and dispensed rights and privileges. It was also from this same land that the colony derived its wealth. As Alsop stated, "The very effects of the dirt of this Province affords as great a profit to the general Inhabitant, as the Gold of *Peru* doth to the straight-breecht Commonalty of the *Spaniard*." Lord Baltimore and his government in Maryland certainly assumed the coinage would facilitate local trade but it was never intended to replace tobacco as the standard medium of exchange within the colony.

It is clear tobacco drove the economy in the decades before, during and after Lord Baltimore coinage was minted. Also, when the coinage proposal was being formulated in 1658 and early 1659, tobacco value had been, and continued to be, relatively stable at about 2d per pound. It is true that Baltimore believed the coinage would facilitate exchange, but, as we shall see below, I suspect that was not the primary reason behind his decision to undertake a coinage venture. Indeed, if Baltimore's main goal had been to supply the colonists with coins to facilitate exchange

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55 Crosby, p. 123 on Streeter, with the quote on p. 124.

56 Breen, pp. 18-19. Interestingly, Breen dated the cattle payment to 1650 and cited Crosby as the source. In Crosby, the cattle payment is undated, but is immediately followed by an example of taxes paid in corn from 1650!

57 D. Jordan relates several examples where Lord Baltimore refused to diversify the economy or concede to legislation when he felt it would diminish his income or authority. For instance, on pp. 103-5, Jordan explained that in 1666, due to slumping tobacco prices, the plantations of Virginia and the Carolinas concurred with the governor and the council in Maryland to stop production for one year. This measure was taken to help diversify the economy and to reduce the supply of tobacco, so that the price of the product would eventually rise (as is explained below in the section on the 1671 advancement of foreign coins). The poorer planters represented in the lower house of the Maryland Assembly disagreed, since they could not sustain such a loss and would be the ones forced to quit farming and find alternate employment. However, rather than complain about their own problems they pointed out that a cessation in planting would diminish Lord Baltimore's income and that a recent statute supporting a war against the Indians would be useless if the colonists did not have the tobacco required to purchase arms and munitions. Nevertheless, in October the Maryland council issued a proclamation that no tobacco would be produced during the next growing season. However, Lord Baltimore vetoed the statute, stating that it would inconvenience poor planters and would hurt the king's customs (not to mention Baltimore's annual rents). Lord Baltimore believed in the mercantile theory, which, in this case, meant the colonists were to earn money by selling raw materials (tobacco) to England and, at the same time, provide economic benefits for the Proprietor and for England by acting as a market for English goods and by paying rents to Baltimore who managed his province accordingly. There are numerous instances of related actions by Cecil Calvert and his son Charles, discussed throughout Jordan's work; on p. 105 he mentioned Cecil Calvert vetoed eight laws that had been passed during the 1664 Assembly and on p. 99 stated, "For almost three decades, however, Charles Calvert ... generally prevented the passage or implementation of any legislation that infringed upon proprietary prerogatives" and on p. 134 he mentioned Charles's unilateral suspension of a clause in a statute on the advancement of trade.

he could simply have encouraged the importation of foreign silver. Typically this was accomplished by raising, or as contemporaries said, “advancing” or “crying-up” the value of Spanish American and other foreign silver.<sup>58</sup> This was far easier and less costly than personally minting coins.

Another problem with the Streeter-Crosby and Breen analyses is that the events they describe as the basis for the decision to begin the production of the 1659 Lord Baltimore coinage, namely the use of cattle, corn and shot as payments, occurred a decade or more before the initiation of the coinage project. To understand Baltimore’s rationale for issuing coinage, and especially for issuing silver coins in 1659, we need to examine his own statements and understand the political situation in the colony during what was a turbulent period for Maryland under the Puritan-controlled Commonwealth government in England.

### Maryland during the English Commonwealth

Following a period of civil war and the beheading of King Charles, England was declared a Commonwealth on May 19, 1649. The country came under the control of the Puritan military commander Oliver Cromwell and his newly constituted Parliament. On October 3, 1650, the Puritan Parliament announced they would seize authority from the administrators in Barbados, Antigua, Bermuda and Virginia, since those colonies continued to support the monarchy and therefore were enemies of the Commonwealth. All trade with those areas was prohibited and the Council of State was authorized “...to send ships to any of the plantations aforesaid, and to grant commissions to such persons as they shall think fit, to enforce all such to obedience, as stand in opposition to the parliament...”<sup>59</sup> The action was directed against Royalists who had supported Charles during the civil wars as well as against those religious groups the Puritan leaders determined to be their enemies. An early draft of this legislation had included Maryland as one of the colonies to be brought into line or as contemporaries expressed it, “reduced.” However, supporters of Lord Baltimore successfully argued against the reduction of Maryland and thus it was stricken from the draft. Although Lord Baltimore had established Maryland as a Catholic colony, he appointed a Protestant governor, William Stone, opened the land to Puritan refugees and granted them complete religious freedom. However, some Puritan legislators, with a dislike of all “Papists,” reinserted Maryland into a second draft but again the language was removed and not mentioned in the final act.

The central focus of the legislation was the colony of Virginia, a Royalist stronghold that became particularly intolerant of Puritans at the time of the outbreak of the English Civil War in 1642. In that year, William Berkeley became governor and in 1643 he enacted a law “for the preservation of the purity of doctrine and the unity of the Church” requiring “all non-conformists upon notice of

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<sup>58</sup> In 1642, Massachusetts Bay raised the value of foreign silver and then, when they opened a mint in 1652, they advanced the value of their own coinage even further. On January 21, 1643, possibly in response to the 1642 Massachusetts revaluation, New Netherland Director General Willem Kieft increased the value of the eight *reales* to 3 gulden, or 20% over its value in the Netherlands. In 1654 coinage circulating in French Canada was increased in value by one-third over the rate for those same coins in France. Also, Virginia raised the value of the Spanish American eight *reales* cob from 4s6d (54d) to 5s (60d) in 1655. Several West Indian colonies raised the value of Spanish and other foreign silver just a few years after the Baltimore coinage was minted. Shortly before 1662, Barbados raised the value of Spanish silver from 54d to 56d per full weight eight *reales*. Many others followed; see, Mossman, as cited in footnote 151 below, McCusker, p. 156 and L. Jordan, p. 172. At times Spanish silver was counterstamped as an inexpensive method of “confirming” it as a local coinage.

<sup>59</sup> Bozman, vol. 2, pp. 413-14; Steiner, *Commonwealth*, p. 53.

them shall be compelled to depart the colony with all convenience.”<sup>60</sup> At that time Lord Baltimore sent a letter to the Puritans and other Nonconformists of Virginia inviting them to Maryland. Apparently Virginia did not want to lose the settlers and did not enforce the expulsion statute. They had passed the law in an attempt to curb, rather than destroy, the Puritans and therefore, the Puritans did not move, preferring an Anglican to a “Papist” overlord. However, in 1647 Virginia passed another act against the Nonconformists, which, while less drastic, was a highly inflammatory measure, requiring them to use the *Book of Common Prayer*. The Puritans and their allies were adamant in their refusal to follow this law, which resulted in the 1648 expulsion of the Virginian Puritan leaders William Durand and Richard Bennett, who settling in Maryland, sent letters back to their Virginia brothers describing the freedom of worship they enjoyed in their new home.

Lord Baltimore continued to make his colony even more attractive to Virginia dissidents. Following the death of Baltimore’s brother, Leonard Calvert, who had been governor of the colony, Lord Baltimore, on August 6, 1648, appointed an Anglican with Puritan sympathies, William Stone, as governor. This was a turbulent period during the English Civil War, just six months before the complete defeat of the monarchy by the Puritan forces under Oliver Cromwell and the beheading of King Charles on January 30, 1649. Stone was acceptable to the Royalists because he was a member of the Church of England and he was far less objectionable to the Puritan Roundheads than a Catholic. In Stone’s commission, Lord Baltimore did not mention the English political situation at all, but rather he explained the selection of Stone was due to his successful efforts in bringing additional settlers into Maryland. The commission stated as the reason for the appointment:

William Stone now or late of Northampton County in Virginia Esqr hath undertaken in some short time to procure five hundred People of British or Irish descent to Come from other places and plant and reside within our said province of Maryland for the advancement of our Colony there...<sup>61</sup>

In early 1649, following the Puritan victory in England and a severe backlash against the Puritans in Royalist Virginia, many Virginia Puritans and Puritan sympathizers were no longer able to endure the persecutions. Realizing Maryland had a Protestant governor and a policy of toleration, several hundred of these Nonconformists migrated to Catholic Maryland, where they found a safe

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60 Russell, p. 192. Prior to the Act of Uniformity of 1662 the term “non-conformists” referred to all English Protestants who refused to conform to certain practices of the Church of England such as the use of the approved version of the *Book of Common Prayer*, the wearing of the surplice, kneeling at the reception of the Sacrament, etc. In Virginia many Nonconformists were Puritans, but other Nonconformists were members of the Church of England who either hoped to become Puritans, if accepted by the Puritan congregation, or who sympathized with the Puritans but were unwilling to live by the strict Puritan rules. After 1662 the term “non-conformist” was reserved for English Protestants who were not members of the Church of England.

61 The text continues: “...and being Confident of his Wisdom Fidelity Industry Integrity and other Virtues which Render him Capable and worthy of the Trust hereby by us intended to be reposed in him have nominated Constituted ordained authorised and established and by these presents do Nominate Constitute Ordain authorise and establish the said William Stone our Lieutenant chief Governor General Admiral Marshall chief Captain and Commander as well by Sea as by Land of our said Province of Maryld and the Islands to the same belonging and by these presents do Grant unto him the chief Commandmt and absolute Authority under us above and in all matters of warfare by Sea and Land to execute and administer the same to the resistance of the enemies or supression mutinies and insolencies as our said Lieutenant shall think most Commodious for the preservation of our said Province and our rights and dominion there and to do all such things as do belong or appertain to the Office of a Lieutenant General Chief Governor General Admiral Marshall Admiral chief Captain or Commander under us of the said Province of Maryland in as large and ample manner to all intents and purposes (except hereafter excepted) as we our self might do...” (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 3, pp. 201-2).



haven. To reassure the newcomers, an edict of toleration entitled "An Act concerning Religion" was proclaimed in Maryland on April 2, 1649, formally allowing freedom of religion to all Protestant groups. The act stated that one's religion would be tolerated as long as one did not

...deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to bee the sonne of God, or shall deny the holy Trinity the ffather sonne and holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the said Three persons of the Trinity or the Vnity of the Godhead, ... And for the more quiett and peaceable governme' of this Province, and the better to preserve mutuall Love and amity amongst the Inhabitants thereof. Be it Therefore also by the Lo: Proprietary with the advise and consent of this Assembly Ordeyned & enacted (except as in this present Act is before Declared and sett forth) that noe person or persons whatsoever within this Province, or the Islands, Ports, Harbors, Creekes, or havens thereunto belonging professing to beleive [sic] in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth bee any waies troubled, Molested or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion nor in the free exercise thereof within this Province or the Islands thereunto belonging nor any way compelled to the beleife or exercise of any other Religion against his or her consent, soe as they be not unfaithfull to the Lord Proprietary, or molest or conspire against the civill Governme' established...<sup>62</sup>

In October 1649, the Virginia Assembly declared the beheading of King Charles had been an act of treason and anyone who supported the traitors would be put to death. This declaration compelled the remaining Virginia Puritans to depart. Overall, it has been estimated that some 500 Nonconformists emigrated to Maryland in 1649,<sup>63</sup> effectively doubling the population. In Maryland, the Puritans were not only granted religious freedom but they were also allowed to send burgesses to represent them in the Maryland Assembly. Indeed, in the Maryland Assembly of April 1650 the Protestants, comprising both members of the Church of England as well as the Puritans, were in the majority. Governor William Stone and three of the five councilors that made the upper house were Protestant, as were nine of the 14 burgesses in the lower house, with a Puritan, James Coxe, as Speaker. In this Assembly the Puritan settlement in Maryland, which had been called Providence (near what is now Annapolis), was officially recognized as a new county called Anne Arundel, after Cecil Calvert's deceased wife.<sup>64</sup>

Because Catholic Maryland became a refuge for persecuted Puritans and Anglicans with Nonconformist sympathies it was not one of the areas singled out by Cromwell and his Puritan reformers to be "reduced." However, several English Puritans had no toleration for Catholics.<sup>65</sup> On September 26, 1651, when parliamentary orders were finally drawn up appointing commissioners "for the reducement of Virginia, and the Inhabitants thereof to their due obedience to the Commonwealth of England" the document further authorized the commissioners to use their

62 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, pp. 244-47, with quotes from pp. 244 and 246. Also see, Russell, pp. 191-97. Baltimore's acquiescence to the Commonwealth government and his toleration of Puritans resulted in his losing the favor of the exiled monarchy. On February 16, 1650, Charles Stuart (the future Charles II) commissioned William Davenport (a poet and a godson of William Shakespeare) as the Governor of Maryland. The exiled Queen Henrietta Maria, for whom Maryland had been named, sent Davenport to the province from France, but he was captured in the English Channel and imprisoned in England. This, of course, simply gave Baltimore a higher standing with the Commonwealth leaders and helped him in struggles against those Puritans who tried to usurp his authority. Steiner, *Commonwealth*, pp. 11-12.

63 Steiner, *Commonwealth*, p. 10, footnote 1.

64 Bozman, vol. 2, 198-99, 370-410; Steiner, *Commonwealth*, pp. 9-36. Anne Arundell was the daughter of Thomas Arundell, First Baron Arundell of Wardour (Tisbury, Wilts). The Arundells were one of the major Catholic families in England. Anne married Cecil Calvert on March 20, 1627/8, and she died on July 23, 1649. The family name was spelled Arundell, however the county is now called Anne Arundel.

65 Puritans were among the more radical of the Protestant sects who had equated the Catholic pope with the Antichrist. This had been a rallying cry of radical reformers since the sixteenth century. Indeed, it was one of the main points of agreement among the numerous radical sects who could not agree with each other on how to create a church but they all believed a true church could not follow the pope.

"...best endeavours to reduce all the Plantations within the Bay of Chesepiak [Chesapeake] to their due obedience to the Parliament and the Commonwealth of England."<sup>66</sup> Although the document was intended to focus on Virginia, the clause "all the Plantations within the Bay of Chesepiak" had been added at the request of some legislators so that the document could be construed as including Maryland, without specifically mentioning the colony.

Originally two, of a total of four commissioners, were to be sent to the colonies from England; the individuals selected were Captain Robert Dennis of the Royal Navy and Thomas Stagg, who were to be joined in America by two others selected from Virginia, Captain William Claiborne and the Puritan leader who had fled to Maryland, Richard Bennett. However, before setting sail another naval officer, Captain Edmund Curtis, was appointed as a fifth member.<sup>67</sup> The reduction order authorized the commissioners to offer pardons to individuals who submitted to the authority of the Commonwealth and also empowered them to use military force against those who refused.

Soon after the commissions were issued, the three commissioners along with a force of seven hundred men departed England to deal with the rebellious territories. They traveled in a small fleet of merchant vessels along with the ship *John* and the frigate *Guinea*, which, in addition, transported 150 Scottish prisoners taken at the battle of Worcester, who were to be sold as servants in Virginia. Following the reduction of Barbados in late 1651 and Virginia in early 1652, the expedition proceeded to Maryland where, on March 29, 1652, the parliamentary commissioners Richard Bennett, Captain Edward Curtis and Captain William Claiborne arrived in St. Mary's. The delegation required Governor William Stone, along with his staff and the inhabitants of the town, to submit to an oath stating they would be "...true and faithful to the commonwealth of England, as it is now established, without king or house of lords."<sup>68</sup> The governor consented to carry out this request. However, the commissioners also demanded that the colonial government issue all writs, warrants, proclamations and public orders "...in the name of the keepers of the liberty of England, by the authority of parliament" rather than in the name of their proprietary, Lord Baltimore. Governor Stone would not consent to this demand, so the parliamentary officials removed the governor, the secretary and the councilors from office and set up a new governing council.

The parliament's commissioners soon departed for Virginia and did not return to Maryland until June, when, upon their return, they discovered it was the "...desire of the inhabitants, that Captain Stone should reassume his former place of governor."<sup>69</sup> On June 28th an agreement was reached reinstating Governor Stone who agreed to issue documents in the name of "the keepers of the liberties of England by the authority of parliament" rather than under the name of Lord Baltimore as long as he could "reserve and save to himself ...oaths made to the lord Baltimore, lord proprietor of this province, until the pleasure of the state of England be further known."<sup>70</sup>

Over the next several years the Puritan inhabitants of Maryland, and their allies, who had taken control in Virginia, supported the parliamentary commissioners in an effort to invalidate Lord Baltimore's proprietorship and to repress all Catholicism and "popery" in the colony. Lord Baltimore defended his proprietary rights in London bringing his case before Parliament. In 1653 an anonymous pamphlet circulated in London entitled, *The Lord Baltimore's Case, Concerning the*

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66 Hall, pp. 206-8 with quote on p. 207.

67 Bozman, vol. 2, pp. 433-37; Scharf, vol. 1, p. 209; Steiner, *Commonwealth*, p. 53-56. Scharf incorrectly dates the document to September 22nd rather than the 26th.

68 Bozman, vol. 2, p. 440.

69 Bozman, vol. 2, p. 446.

70 Bozman, vol. 2, pp. 439-48, with the quote on p. 447; Steiner, *Commonwealth*, pp. 53-61.

*Province of Maryland, adjoining to Virginia in America, With full and clear Answers to all material Objections, touching his Rights, Jurisdictions, and Proceedings there, And certaine Reasons of State, why the Parliament should not impeach the same.* Basically, the pamphlet stated that Maryland was a separate entity from Virginia and that "...the Jurisdiction and stile [style] which the Lord Baltemore useth in Maryland, is no other then [than] what is warranted by his Patent."<sup>71</sup> Further, the pamphlet explained a technicality that had been brought against Baltimore. Namely, it was charged that his lordship had assented to institute laws in 1650 that referenced the late King Charles I and referred to Charles II as the present king. The pamphlet explained the laws in question had been passed by the Maryland Assembly in 1649 before news of the change in government had reached the colony and consequently, the wording merely reflected what was thought to be the state of affairs at the time of passage and did not represent an attack against the Commonwealth.<sup>72</sup>

After presenting his case before Parliament, Baltimore interpreted some governmental actions as supporting his position against the commissioners' conduct in Maryland. Further, on December 12, 1653, the English Parliament, called the Little or Barebones Parliament, was dissolved and four days later all power was invested in Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, events that both Baltimore and Stone interpreted as being to their advantage. Although the document is now lost, it appears Baltimore wrote instructions to Governor Stone in 1653 that reached him early in 1654. Accordingly, on February 7, 1654, Stone issued a proclamation stating that pursuant "to the special direction and appointment of the right honorable Cecilius Lord Baltimore" individuals were to take the oath of fidelity to his lordship and pay his receiver general any in arrears rent. Then, on March 2nd, Governor Stone proclaimed all writs and other documents would be issued in Lord Baltimore's name.<sup>73</sup>

In opposition to Stone's actions, the Puritans of Maryland sent several protests to the parliamentary commissioners Bennett and Claiborne, who were in Virginia. This created a rather unusual situation since the parliament, by which the commissioners derived their authority, was now defunct, therefore, the governor considered the commissioners' authority to have expired, and accordingly he had reestablished the proprietorship. However, the commissioners returned to Maryland in mid-July and told the governor a contingent of soldiers was on the way from Virginia. Stone was forced to submit and was deposed on July 22, 1654, being replaced by a committee of ten under the chairmanship of William Fuller, to be "commissioners for the well ordering, directing, and governing the affairs of Maryland under his highness the lord protector of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the dominions thereof."<sup>74</sup>

On October 20, 1654, a General Assembly was constituted in Maryland consisting of nine commissioners and seven selected burgesses, all of whom were Puritan supporters. The assembly passed 46 laws including various blue laws<sup>75</sup> and, more significantly, a law denying Catholics any legal rights. Using the same title as had been given to the act of April 2, 1649,

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<sup>71</sup> Hall, p. 173.

<sup>72</sup> Hall, pp. 163-80.

<sup>73</sup> Bozman, vol. 2, pp. 471-77; Steiner, *Commonwealth*, pp. 72-76.

<sup>74</sup> Bozman, vol. 2, pp. 495-505; Steiner, *Commonwealth*, pp. 77-79

<sup>75</sup> There were civil laws enacted against swearing, drinking, slandering, adultery, fornication and work on Sunday (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, acts 10-12 and 15 of that session, pp. 343-44).

whereby the Puritans had been given freedom of religion and allowed representation in the government, the new Puritan "An Act concerning Religion" stated,

It is Enacted and Declared in the Name of his Highness the Lord Protector with the Consent and by the Authority of the present Generall Assembly That none who profess and Execute the Popish Religion Commonly known by the Name of the Roman Catholick Religion can be protected in this Province by the Lawes of England formerly Established and yet unrepealed nor by the Government of the Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto belonging Published by his Highness the Lord protector but are to be restrained from the Exercise thereof, Therefore all and Every person or persons Concerned in the Law aforesaid are required to take notice

Such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ (though Differing in Judgment from the Doctrine worship & Discipline publicly held forth shall not be restrained from but shall be protected in the profession of the faith) &; Exercise of their Religion so as they abuse not this Liberty to the injury of others The Disturbance of the publique peace on their part, Provided that this Liberty be not Extended to popery or prelacy nor to such as under the profession of Christ hold forth and practice Licentiousness.<sup>76</sup>

Being denied the very rights they had previously extended to the Puritans, the Catholics revolted. On Sunday morning, March 25, 1655, the Feast of the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary, a force of about 200 Baltimore supporters under the command of William Stone engaged Puritan forces in what is known as the Battle of the Severn. Stone was captured and one-third of his force was killed or wounded, yet the Baltimore faction remained defiant.<sup>77</sup>

Following the battle, the Puritans executed four Baltimore supporters, while others were imprisoned and Catholic areas of Maryland were generally repressed.<sup>78</sup> The houses of the Jesuit priests were plundered and the fathers fled. The Puritans were clearly in control but the Catholic resistance movement continued, lead by Josias Fendall. Lord Baltimore protested this usurpation of his authority directly to the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, who wrote to Commissioner Richard Bennett on September 26, 1655, that the force and violence be stopped regarding what he considered to be a border dispute between Virginia and Maryland.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, pp. 340-41, the fourth act of the session; a version is also in Bozman, vol. 2, p. 512.

<sup>77</sup> Bozman, pp. 516-29; Steiner, *Commonwealth*, pp. 90-101.

<sup>78</sup> The four executed were William Eltonhead and his German servant John Pedro, Captain William Lewis and John Leggat (Bozman, vol. 2, pp. 526-34; Steiner, *Commonwealth*, pp. 99-106).

<sup>79</sup> He saw this as an attempt by Virginia to seize Maryland and thus part of a longstanding dispute over borders. There had been and continued to be several border disputes between the two colonies. Virginia's trade with Indians within the territorial limits of Baltimore's charter had been contested in the 1630s. In 1651 a Virginia grant was awarded to Edmond Scarborough for Palmer's Island, which, in a letter of August 26, 1651, Baltimore stated was in his province. In a letter of October 23, 1656, Baltimore cautioned his governor to be vigilant regarding numerous encroachments by the Council of Virginia into Maryland; see Scharf, vol. 1, pp. 259-62. The pamphlet of 1655, *Maryland and Virginia*, detailed several claims Virginia made on Maryland property, including rights to the Island of Kent. In 1631 Claiborne had established a trading post on Kent Island under a commission from the king. However, only a few months after Leonard Calvert settled in Maryland in 1635, he forced Claiborne off the island. On March 24, 1637/8, the Maryland Assembly voted a bill of attainder against William Claiborne for piracy and murder, declaring his estate on the Island of Kent forfeited to Lord Baltimore. Virginia considered this act to be an unjust incursion into their territory, while Maryland believed the Virginian, Claiborne, had made the incursion into land granted to Lord Baltimore. Of course, this personal loss certainly weighed into Claiborne's decision to "reduce" Maryland. The pamphlet went on to accuse Lord Baltimore of being a usurper and that Virginia sought the "re-establishment" of its borders; see Hall, pp. 187-206.

During this struggle there was much political posturing with several pamphlets, issued by partisans on each side, circulating in London. Soon after the Battle of the Severn, a reply was made to Baltimore's hitherto unanswered 1653 pamphlet. The anonymous reply was called *Virginia and Maryland, or The Lords Baltimore's Printed Case Uncased and Answered*. Among those pamphlets with more colorful titles are: the Puritan tract, *Babylon's Fall in Maryland: A fair Warning to Lord Baltimore; or a Relation Of an Assault made by divers Papists, and Popish Officers of the Lord Baltimore's against the Protestants in Maryland; to whom God gave a great Victory...* by Leonard Strong, Agent for the people of Providence in Maryland (1655) and its reply, *A Just and Cleere refutation of a False and Scandalous Pamphlet Entitled Babylon's Fall in Maryland...* by John Langford Gentleman, servant to the Lord Baltimore (1655). In the following year, the Puritan, Captain Roger Heamans wrote a tract and John Hammond, a former Virginia and then Maryland colonist who opposed the Puritans, penned two pamphlets.<sup>80</sup>

On November 2, 1655, Cromwell appointed two well-known lawyers, Bulstrode Whitlock and Sir Thomas Widdrington, to report on the situation regarding Baltimore's rights in Maryland. Their report was completed on May 26, 1656, in favor of Lord Baltimore. At this point Baltimore once again began to involve himself in Maryland politics. On July 10, 1656, he rewarded Captain Josias Fendall with the governorship because of his actions in support of William Stone, although at the time the Puritans were still in control. Upon hearing this news the commissioners arrested Fendall who remained in prison until September 24, 1656, when he took an oath in court that he would "...neither directly nor indirectly be any disturber to this present government till there be a full determination ended in England of all matters relating to this government."<sup>81</sup> Historians have speculated Baltimore, who never visited Maryland, replaced Stone because it was thought Stone had too many enemies among the Puritans and would not be able to resolve a peace with them.

While these events were unfolding, the Puritan leaders Richard Bennett and Colonel Samuel Matthews traveled to London as agents for Virginia on behalf of the Puritan Commissioners and filed a petition against the Whitlock and Widdrington report. The issue was referred to the Committee for Trade, who delivered their report on September 16th that was also in favor of Lord Baltimore. On December 17th the issue was forwarded to the Committee of the Council for Foreign Plantations.<sup>82</sup> They spent a year working out an agreement that was signed by Baltimore and Samuel Matthews on behalf of the Puritan Commissioners on November 30, 1657.

Under the agreement, control of the colony was returned to Lord Baltimore whose commissions to Fendall as governor and to his brother, Philip Calvert, as provincial secretary, were recognized as valid. Fendall was in London at the time and immediately departed for Maryland where the commissioners surrendered their power to Fendall on March 24, 1658. Almost a month later Fendall's commission as governor was read and accepted at a special session of the Maryland General Assembly, held at St. Leonard's Creek in Calvert County on April 27, 1658.<sup>83</sup>

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80 Hall, pp. 163-308; Steiner, *Commonwealth*, pp. 84-87.

81 Scharf, vol. 1, p. 226.

82 In November 1672 the Committee of the Council for Foreign Plantations and the Committee for Trade merged as the Council for Trade and Plantations and then, in March 1675, changed its name to the Committee for Trade and Plantations. Contemporary letters and documents, after the Restoration of the monarchy, also referred to this group as the Lords (of or for) Trade and Plantations and sometimes as the Council (of or for) Trade and Plantations, sometimes shortened to just Plantations without the use of Trade. In some sources each version of the name contains the phrase Foreign Plantations rather than simply Plantations.

83 Scharf, vol. 1, pp. 206-29; D. Jordan, pp. 55-57; Ives, pp. 233-39; Steiner, pp. 109-15; Bozman, vol. 2, pp. 534-63.

At the April 1658 General Assembly, Lord Baltimore and his government were finally back in control and passed several acts of reconciliation. The very first article voted into law stated that all persons, on both sides, were “freed from any charge or questioning for any act” committed since 1649. The article stated:

That All ministers of Justice & officers military with all other persons whatsoever be & remaine indemnified on both Sides and freed from any Charge or questioning for any act or passage made or don in the transactions of the affaires of this Province since the first of December 1649 to the day of the date aboue written without further consideracon of restitucon or satisfaction to be required or made on either side.<sup>84</sup>

It was also stated as the third article that no one was to be deprived of their right to vote or sit in an Assembly because of the role they took in events since the reduction of Maryland.

3. That no person whatsoever within this Province shall (by reason of Any Act, or Passage made or don in relation to the late Alteration of the Government made in the yeare one thousand Six hundred fifty two, bee deemed or hereafter made vncapable of Electing, or to be Elected to all future Assemblies.<sup>85</sup>

Further, no person would be disarmed,<sup>86</sup> nor would they be required to take an oath of fidelity to Lord Baltimore, rather a simple promise to obey his authority would suffice. These articles stated:

...that no person whatsoever within this Province by any Collour or suggestion be disarmed or dispoyled in his armes or ammunicon & thereby consequently left to the Cruelty of the Indians vnlesse such person be proved to beare armes to an Hostile intent, & contrary to the vsuall & allowable customs of the Country for each mans defence.<sup>87</sup>

[and]

That the Oath of Fidelity shall not be pressed vpon the people now resident within this Province, but instead & place thereof an engagement be taken & subscribed in manner & torme followeing, viz I: A: B: Doe promise & Engage to submitt to the Authority of the Right Honorable Ccecilius Lord Baltemore & his heires within this Province of Maryland according to his Pattent of the said Province, & to his present Lieutenant and other officers heere, by his Lordship appointed to whom I will be aydeing and assisting & will not obey or assist any heere in opposicon to them.<sup>88</sup>

Also, all laws passed since 1654 were declared to be void. Further, unpaid taxes would be due and government officials would receive back pay. And finally, anyone owed land allotments was allowed six months to bring their claims forward.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 370.

<sup>85</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 370.

<sup>86</sup> It was a fairly common practice to forbid opposition parties from owning weapons. Due to potential Indian attacks this was an especially severe punishment. In Massachusetts Bay the Puritans even disarmed theological dissidents; thus in 1638, the followers of Anne Hutchinson, who remained in Boston, were disarmed. Of interest to numismatists, Robert Hull, the father of the future Boston mint master John Hull, was one of her followers who was officially prohibited from owning a gun.

<sup>87</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, pp. 370-71.

<sup>88</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 370.

<sup>89</sup> Steiner, *Commonwealth*, pp. 115-16.

## Lord Baltimore's coinage proposal

### a. Political motivations

On April 27, 1658, Lord Baltimore and his appointed governor were finally, once again, in power in Maryland. It was the first time they enjoyed uncontested control of the province since the Commonwealth Parliamentary Commissioners had seized the colony in 1652. It was clear to Baltimore that Maryland had been transformed. Since the immigration of the Virginia Puritans and the Puritan sympathizers in the late 1640s, there was a growing Protestant presence in the colony such that by the 1650s they became the majority. These Protestant groups, consisting primarily of Puritans and Anglicans, had held power in Maryland for several years. They also had several allies in the Commonwealth government that was still in power in England. Baltimore wished to make peace with the Maryland Protestants. Further, he hoped they would remain in the province, but he also wanted them to understand and recognize his rights as Lord Proprietary of the County Palatine of Maryland.

As we shall see below, Lord Baltimore's primary motivation in undertaking the minting of coins was his belief that he could make a profit from the venture. This was a business decision. However, Baltimore also understood that undertaking such an enterprise, especially in the period immediately following the restoration of his rights as Proprietary, would be advantageous to his position in the colony. Michael Hodder has suggested the silver coinage helped Baltimore proclaim his political authority in Maryland.<sup>90</sup> It appears Baltimore conceived of his coinage venture and put his plan into motion soon after he regained Maryland. He may have seriously considered producing coins anytime after November 20, 1657, when he signed the agreement to take back control of the province from the Puritan Commissioners, and he certainly could have started executing his plan anytime after his appointed governor, Josias Fendall, took office on April 27, 1658. Quite likely, steps toward minting coinage were underway within a year of Fendall assuming the office of governor, that is, by late spring of 1659, since the coins were being minted in late September and early October 1659. Indeed, we know that during 1659 Baltimore corresponded with his brother in Maryland as well as with Governor Fendall and others concerning his plan to issue coins. Those letters are no longer extant but they are alluded to in a surviving letter from Lord Baltimore to his brother Philip Calvert, the provincial secretary, written on October 12, 1659, where he speaks of receiving such letters earlier that year. In the extant letter Baltimore stated, "I send a sample of the Maryland money, with directions for the procuring it to pass, because I understood by letters this yeare from the Governor and you and others that there was no doubt but the people there would accept of it."<sup>91</sup>

The political significance of the coinage is evident in the images, legends and the composition of the coins. In seventeenth century England many merchants designed and paid for the minting of copper tokens that were issued from their business establishments as small change for local use, but only the king, or later the Commonwealth, had the authority to mint and issue silver or gold coins. Issuing coins in precious metals was a privilege reserved by the ruler or governing body of an area. Massachusetts Bay considered itself to be a Commonwealth with the ability to make its own laws and asserted its right to issue silver coinage by opening a mint in 1652. Lord Baltimore was also asserting his right to issue silver coins, as had been done by the medieval Bishops of Durham, within the County Palatine of Durham. Since Baltimore had, by charter, the same rights as a Palatine Lord, he assumed he was also allowed the right to mint and issue coinage, even

90 Hodder mentions the difficulties in Maryland during the 1650s in his 1993 *CNL* article and concludes that paragraph with "The coins were as much a proclamation of his palatine rights as necessary for the colony's internal trade" (Hodder, "Cecil Calvert's Coinage," p. 1361).

91 Crosby, p.125.

though such a right was not directly mentioned in his charter. Lord Baltimore coins were minted in sterling silver in denominations of a four pence coin called a groat, a sixpence and a shilling. Interestingly, dies were cut for a copper penny, called a *denarium*; a few specimens were produced (sometimes called patterns because only six examples are known), but the coin never went into production. Any copper coin, with the same metallic composition as a trade token, did not evoke the same level of authority as sterling coinage and this may be one reason the *denarium* was never issued.

The images on the coins were also meant to proclaim and promote Baltimore's authority. The obverse displays a bust left profile of Lord Baltimore that imitates the portrait of Oliver Cromwell found on the contemporary limited issue Cromwell coinage of 1656-58 (*see figures 2-9 for the various coins mentioned in this section*). In the silver issues of that series, Cromwell was portrayed in a draped bust left profile, wearing a toga, crowned with a laurel wreath and surrounded by a Latin inscription giving his name and titles. On the Maryland coinage, Lord Baltimore appears in a very similar draped bust left profile, wearing a toga and surrounded by a Latin inscription giving his name and titles. The only significant difference is that Baltimore does not wear a laurel wreath.

The iconographic similarities between the Cromwell and Baltimore issues are quite dramatic when one compares them to the elegant simplicity of the standard issue Commonwealth coinage. The regular Commonwealth series was minted from 1649-60 with their continued production simultaneous with the Cromwell commemorative issues. The Commonwealth series did not include any portrait; it simply displayed a national symbol, namely, the shield of St. George within a palm and laurel wreath on the obverse with a basic inscription in English rather than Latin stating · THE · COMMONWEALTH · OF ENGLAND · with a privy mark.<sup>92</sup> The Commonwealth format was adopted in Boston where silver coinage was being produced with a symbol of the Massachusetts Bay Commonwealth on the obverse, namely, a tree, and a basic inscription in English stating MASACHVSETS · IN.<sup>93</sup>

The imagery on the Cromwell series departs significantly from the standard Commonwealth coinage by representing a modified version of earlier English regal coinage. Coins emitted by English rulers before the Commonwealth era typically depicted a bust of the crowned monarch in full regalia surrounded by a Latin inscription bearing his/her name and titles. The Commonwealth did not recognize a king, but on December 16, 1653, Parliament declared Cromwell to be the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth for life, and hence this "semi-royal" status was reflected in his coinage. Rather than depicting him in regal attire, Cromwell is presented in a simple Roman toga and in place of a jeweled crown he wears a laurel wreath. The imagery rejects the elaborate medieval symbols of royalty, wealth and power that were so disdained by the Puritans as vestiges of the Roman Catholic past. Cromwell's portrait appears plain in comparison to the regal issues, but does evoke an image of authority since it imitates the portraits of the ancient Roman emperors. Indeed, by reflecting ancient classical iconography, the die cutter was able to reintroduce a Latin

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92 The Sun was used as a privy mark from the inception of the Commonwealth through the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell until 1657, when the anchor was used for the period 1658-60 under Richard Cromwell. The reverse of the coins replaced the royal arms with two joined shields displaying the Cross of St. George in the shield on the left and the Irish harp in the shield on the right with the denomination in roman numerals above and a beaded rim with the legend · GOD · WITH · VS · and the date.

93 From 1652 until probably 1654 NE coinage was produced. This initial series was followed by what we call the Willow Tree series. In the period under discussion (that is, 1657-58), the Willow Tree coinage may have still been in production, or possibly, it had just been replaced with the first varieties in the Oak Tree series; see L. Jordan, pp. 86 and 90-91. On the reverse of the tree series the legend, in a beaded rim, continues the obverse stating NEW · ENGLAND · AN · DOM · where the abbreviated portion is Latin for *anno Domini* (in the year of the Lord). The center of the reverse displays the denomination in roman numerals and the year 1652, which was the date the coins were first authorized by the Massachusetts Bay General Court.



inscription. Latin was the language of law and authority and, in the context of the Cromwell coinage, its use was not metaphorical with the Roman Catholic past, but rather was seen as an acceptable reference to classical antiquity. The inscription reinforced the imagery with an abbreviated version of Cromwell's title stating: OLIVAR · D · G · R · P · ANG · SCO · HIB &c PRO [*Olivarius Dei Gratia Res Publicae Angliae Scotiae Hiberniae etc. Protector*] translated as: Oliver, by the Grace of God, of the Republic of England, Scotland and Ireland etc. Protector. The imagery and presentation was so compelling that after the restoration of Charles II, the classical motif was adopted for regal coinage.<sup>94</sup>

Work on the design of the Cromwell series commenced in 1655 with the first coins authorized and struck in 1656, but the coinage did not enter full production until a year later.<sup>95</sup> As we have seen, it is likely that Lord Baltimore seriously started planning his coinage issue sometime after November 20, 1657, when, following Cromwell's judgment in his favor, Baltimore signed an agreement to take back control of the colony from the Puritans. Also, it seems probable he could have started to execute his plan anytime after his appointed governor took over control of Maryland on April 27, 1658. This is precisely the period when Cromwell coinage was being minted. It seems that the coiners at the London mint, where both the Cromwell and Baltimore coinages were produced, adopted the Cromwell imagery for Lord Baltimore.

This imitation of the Cromwell iconography clearly evoked Baltimore's position of authority as the lord and ruler of Maryland. However, Baltimore was careful not to take the analogy too far, as he did not wear a laurel wreath. But, in order that there be no mistake regarding his authority, Baltimore included an inscription around his portrait bearing his titles. The Latin legend on the Maryland coinage reads: + CÆCILIVS : DNS: TERRÆ - MARIÆ : & CT · on the shilling (with the final T left off the smaller sized denominations).<sup>96</sup> In this phrase the DNS stands for DOMINUS and the "&" character for the Latin *et* which, when combined with the c (or ct), gives us the commonly used abbreviation etc. for *et cetera*, which is the same abbreviation found on the Cromwell series; the legend translates as, "Cecilius, Lord of Maryland, etc." This is a highly abbreviated version of Baltimore's official title used in its fuller form on important documents and on the provincial seal,

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94 Charles II initially struck a series of hammered coins (1660-62) in which the gold issues depicted him wearing a laurel wreath, while the silver issues showed him in the traditional regalia with a crown. However in his second and far more extensive coinage series (1663-85), which were milled coins produced on a press, Charles followed the Cromwell model with a draped bust (shoulder length) on the silver and copper issues and a neck length bust (hence, undraped) on the gold issues, but always wearing a laurel wreath. Later colonial-era monarchs continued to follow this model. Queen Anne is somewhat of an exception since she used the standard shoulder length draped bust on both gold and silver issues and wore a headband rather than a laurel wreath. The main point is that after the initial Charles II hammered series of silver coins, no post-Commonwealth monarch of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries appeared on coins wearing a crown. The standard for silver and copper issues was a shoulder length draped bust with a laurel wreath. All royal coinage included inscriptions in Latin rather than English.

95 The Cromwell dies were cut by Thomas Simon and the coinage produced on Pierre Blondeau's presses. The few coins (often called patterns) bearing the date 1656, are as follows: a fifty shillings gold coin, a twenty shillings gold coin called a broad and a silver half-crown. The two gold issues display an undraped, neck length, image of Cromwell wearing a laurel wreath while the silver issue displays a draped, shoulder length, bust of the laureate Cromwell. More extensive minting of the silver crown, half-crown and shilling started in 1657 but the coins bear the date 1658, with some sixpence also produced (note: all Cromwell issues are rarer than the Commonwealth issues for 1657 and 1658 with the Cromwell 1658 sixpence being much rarer than the other Cromwell silver denominations). The 1658 silver group depict a shoulder length draped bust of Cromwell wearing a laurel wreath, as does a rare undated copper farthing. Cromwell contracted malaria and died on September 3, 1658; his son, Richard Cromwell, succeeded him. See, Ruding, vol. 1, pp. 420-21; Challis, pp. 330-31. Also, a brief discussion of the Cromwell series with illustrations can be found in *Standard Catalogue of British Coins: Coins of England and the United Kingdom*, 37th ed. 2002, London: Spink, pp. 296-97.

96 Interestingly, the inscription was positioned so that the cross (+) appears directly above Baltimore's head. The cross could easily be interpreted as symbolic of Baltimore's Roman Catholicism, an association that would be especially evident to the iconoclastic Puritans in Maryland.

namely, "Cecilius Absolute Lord and Proprietary of the Provinces of Maryland and Avalon, Lord Baron of Baltimore, etc."<sup>97</sup>

The reverse of Baltimore silver is also modeled on the Cromwell series and further reinforced the similarities of these coinages. The reverse of the Cromwell coinage displays the heraldic shield of the Protectorate surmounted by a regal crown and surrounded by the legend PAX · QVÆRITVR · BELLO (Peace is sought through war) with the date.<sup>98</sup> On the reverse of Baltimore silver is Baltimore's heraldic shield surmounted by a palatine crown surrounded by a legend.<sup>99</sup> The denomination of the coin was also included in roman numerals to either side of the shield (as X II, V I or IV). In both series the crown is surmounted by a cross. The crown on the Baltimore coinage is distinguished as a palatine crown because it includes a cross atop an orb. The legend on the reverse CRESCITE : ET : MVLTIPPLICAMINI · (Increase and be multiplied) is from *Genesis* 1:22. This biblical quote was adopted by Maryland in place of the Calvert family motto. It is found on the Maryland Great Seal beneath the Calvert coat of arms, as can be seen on eighteenth century Maryland paper currency.<sup>100</sup> The quote probably relates to Baltimore's original name for the province, *Crescentia*, and alludes to his desire for the area to grow (*figure 10*).

Baltimore coinage displays and reinforces in images, texts and by metallic composition the fact that Baltimore was the Lord and ruler of Maryland. This was a forceful political statement for an individual to assert during the anti-royalist era of the English Commonwealth. However, by imitating the Cromwell iconography, Lord Baltimore was able to produce a coinage dramatically expressing his authority in a way that contemporaries could accept and understand. The circulation of these coins in Maryland would provide a very effective method of promulgating and reinforcing Baltimore's status as Absolute Lord and Proprietary of Maryland.

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97 The etc. relates to his additional titles. In a document of August 17, 1648, appointing members to the Privy Council of Maryland, Lord Baltimore lists his titles more completely as "Cecilius Absolute Lord and Proprietary of the Provinces of Maryland and Avalon Lord Baron of Baltimore, &ca" (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 3, p. 211). This form was also used in the appointments to Captain Josias Fendall as governor on July 10, 1656, but using the variant spelling "Baltemore," (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 3, p. 323) and to his brother Philip Calvert as governor on June 24, 1660, using the variant spelling "Barron of Baltemore," (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 3, p. 391). In the appointment of his son Charles Calvert as governor on September 14, 1661, the document only uses the highly abbreviated title "Caecilius &c." (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 3, p. 439).

98 The very rare copper farthing has the legend CHARITIE AND CHANGE.

99 The reverse of the copper denarium pattern had a palatine coronet with two pennants and the legend + DENARIVM : TERRÆ - MARIÆ "Denarium of Maryland."

100 *Genesis*, 1:22 in the Vulgate reads "*Benedixitque eis dicens crescite et multiplicamini et replete aquas maris avesque multiplicentur super terram.*" This was translated in the 1609 Douay edition as: "And he blessed them, saying: Increase and multiply, and fill the waters of the sea: and let the birds be multiplied upon the earth." [*Multiplicamini* is a present passive construction but is treated in the Douay translation as a present active tense.] This motto is found on the coat of arms used in eighteenth century Maryland. It is written in a banner under the shield (which consisted of Calvert's coat of arms flanked by a farmer to the left representing Maryland and a fisherman to the right representing Avalon) and is found on all Maryland currency emissions from 1733-44 and on the issues of 1780 and 1781. The obverse of the original Maryland Great Seal, readopted in 1959 and revised by the state in 1969, (different seals had been adopted in 1794, 1817 and 1854) depicts Lord Baltimore in full armor with a drawn sword, charging on horseback, with the legend "*Cecilius Absolutus Dominus Terrae Mariae et Avaloniae Baro de Baltimore*" (Cecil, Absolute Lord of Maryland and Avalon, Baron of Baltimore). The reverse of the original Great Seal (readopted by the state in 1874, following the three interim seals noted above) displays the Calvert coat of arms flanked by a farmer on the left and a fisherman on the right; below, on a banner, is the Calvert motto "*Fatti maschii parole femine*," which is literally translated as "manly deeds, womanly words," but more accurately as "strong deeds, gentle words." The Latin legend around the border is taken from the Vulgate version of *Psalms* 5:13. The legend reads "*Scuto bonae voluntatis tuae coronasti nos*" which translated is "with favor wilt thou compass us as with a shield." See the Maryland state website at: <http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/msa/mdmanual/01glance/html/symbols/seal.html> (last accessed December 20, 2003).

**b. Economic motivation**

Lord Baltimore personally financed the entire minting process for his coinage emission, including the acquisition of the sterling. However, he did not do this out of a sense of altruism, nor did he intend this to be an expense incurred in order to reap the political benefits of a circulating coinage with his portrait on it. Lord Baltimore expected to make a profit from this venture.

As had been done in the 1652 Massachusetts Bay mint act, Lord Baltimore intended his coins would be lighter than the English standard. An English shilling was authorized at 92.9 grains of sterling, whereas Massachusetts silver was legislated at a weight 22.5% below equivalent English coinage, with a shilling approved at 72 grains of sterling.<sup>101</sup> Since the minting of both English and Massachusetts coinages were authorized by public legislation, their weight specifications were matters of public record.<sup>102</sup> However, the minting of Baltimore coinage was privately contracted and no records regarding coin specifications survive. Since there are no documents explaining the minting parameters for Baltimore silver, we do not know what Lord Baltimore stipulated as an average coin weight. However, we do have some written evidence that sheds light on this problem. About six months after the coins were produced, legislation was proposed in Maryland "Concerning the setting up of a mint." Although the original proposal is lost, two later drafts of the act survive from April 1661 and both state, "And that the weight of every shilling soe coyned as aforesaid, shall weigh above nyne pence in such silver as aforesaid [i.e. English sterling], and soe proportionably for other peeces of money Coyned in the said mint."<sup>103</sup> The Maryland mint never materialized, but it is possible the vague weight specifications in the 1661 drafts replicated the specifications used for Baltimore silver. In England, nine pence was authorized at 69.675 grains of sterling silver. The 1661 drafts stated a Maryland shilling (that is, twelve pence) would average "above" that weight; in other words, the Maryland shilling would be authorized at somewhat less than a 25% weight reduction, but precisely how much less was not specified. Later, we shall see this documentary evidence is in accord with the data from a small sample of surviving specimens of Baltimore coins, which appear to have an average weight in the vicinity of a 20% reduction from the English standard.

Naturally, a weight reduction made the coins less costly to produce than full weight coins. Also, it was thought the reduced weight would keep the coins from being exported outside the province. Within Maryland, the coins were expected to trade at face value, but beyond the borders of the colony, the coins would trade by weight. Since the coins were lightweight, their intrinsic value would be about 20 to 25% less than their face value in sterling; therefore it was thought that anyone trading the coinage outside of Maryland would lose about that percentage of the coins' purchasing power. Baltimore saw this issue as *fiat* coinage, that is, a coinage with a legislated value in Maryland that was higher than its intrinsic value.

From this evidence we can surmise Lord Baltimore probably expected his investment in sterling silver would automatically increase by about 20% after minting. Labor and transportation costs would need to be deducted from this increased value, but the remaining profit would be Baltimore's remuneration for investing in the coinage enterprise. Obviously, some funds would need to be

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101 A Commonwealth Parliamentary act of July 17, 1649, specified the troy weight of a shilling at 3 pennyweight, 20 grains, 18 mites, 1 droit and 10 perts, which is very close to 92.90312 grains. See L. Jordan, p. 65 and for the Massachusetts Bay coin weight see pp. 54-63.

102 Here I refer to the legislated weight of the coins. The actual average emission weight of the coins depended on private wastage agreements made with the minters and was always slightly lower than the legislated weight.

103 Crosby, p. 127. The other draft states the same information but uses slightly different syntax, as well as minor differences in spelling and some use of abbreviations. It is "And that ye weight of every shilling so coyned as aforesd shall weigh above nine pence in such silver as aforesd, & soe proportionably for other peeces of money coyned in said mint." See Crosby, p. 126.

advanced for design and die cutting, but he hoped the initial investment could be quickly returned and that a profit would be made. However, Baltimore realistically viewed his initial investment as somewhat risky, and, unless the inhabitants of Maryland accepted the coins at face value, the venture would fold. But, if the coins were accepted, he believed the operation would be quite successful and he had assurance from his advisors that the colonists would accept the coins. Furthermore, Baltimore reasoned that unlike most investments, there seemed to be little speculative risk after the initial emission. A profit of almost 20% appeared to be guaranteed and Baltimore hoped the guaranteed profits accrued from minting coins would attract numerous additional investors in subsequent years to finance the continuing operation of a mint.

On October 12, 1659, while the coins were being minted, Lord Baltimore wrote to his governor in Maryland, Josias Fendall, and to his brother, Provincial Secretary Philip Calvert, regarding the coining venture. He was very eager for them to promote this initiative and reminded his brother that both the governor and he, along with others, had stated that the people would certainly accept the coinage. Baltimore warned if the people did not accept the coinage there would be an "utter discouragment for the future supply of any more." In his letter to Governor Fendall, Lord Baltimore explained if the initial issue was successful there would be numerous investors, or, as he stated, an "abundance of adventurers" willing to help sustain the operation in the following year. In his letter to Fendall he stated:

...Having with great paines and charge, procured Necessaries for a particular coyne to be currant in Maryland, a sample whereof, in a peece of a shilling, a sixpence, and a groate, I herewith send you, I recommend it to you to promote, all you can, the dispersing it. ...if encouragment be given by the good success of it this yeare, there wilbe abundance of adventurers in it next yeare.

And to his brother Philip Calvert:

I send a sample of the Maryland money, with directions for the procuring it to pass, because I understood by letters this yeare from the Governor and you and others that there was no doubt but the people there would accept of it, which if we do find they do, there wilbe meanes found to supply you all there with money enough; but though it would be a very great advantage to the Colony that it should pass current there, and an utter discouragment for the future supply of any more, if there be not a certain establishment this yeare, and assurance of its being vented and currant there, yet it must not be imposed upon the people but by a Lawe there made by their consents in a Generall Assembly,....<sup>104</sup>

Thus, from Baltimore's letters, it appears he took a realistic position and understood there was an element of risk. He did say various people had told him the population needed coins and would accept his silver. Also, he stated that it would be advantageous to the colony if the coins circulated. However, he was not fully convinced the people would accept the coinage, therefore he ordered his officers to do all they could to promote the usage of the coins. He warned them if they were unsuccessful there would not be an additional supply in the future. If Baltimore did not make a profit, the coinage venture would be terminated.

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<sup>104</sup> The letter to Governor Fendall and the Council was written by Lord Baltimore in London on October 12, 1659, and probably arrived in Maryland by December. It was officially read into the minutes of the Maryland Council Meeting of Saturday, March 3, 1660. The full text is in Crosby, pp. 124-25. The letter to Philip was written on the same day and probably arrived in Maryland at the same time. Baltimore asked his brother to share the letter with members of the Council. It is edited in Crosby, p. 125.

### The minting of Baltimore coinage

Baltimore coinage was produced under independent contract, probably using minters from the Tower of London to produce the dies and possibly even strike the coins. As mentioned above, the coins imitated the Cromwell series of 1656-58 produced at the Tower mint. Evidence pointing to the Tower mint as the location for the production of Baltimore coinage is based on a contemporary complaint brought by Richard Plight, the Clerk of Irons at the Tower. In addition to Plight's responsibilities as keeper of the dies, he also held a commission requiring him to inform authorities about "false coiners." It appears that Plight learned some mint employees were producing lightweight coins for export to Maryland under a private contract with Lord Baltimore and he brought this information to the attention of the Council of State (this was the Commonwealth equivalent to the Privy Council). As a result of Plight's testimony, the Council issued a warrant to Plight on Tuesday, October 4, 1659, giving him the authority to apprehend Lord Baltimore and anyone working for him on the coinage project. The wording of the warrant implied the coins were being produced at the time the warrant was issued, since it stated that "Cicill Lord Baltamore and diverse others with him, and for him, have made and transported great Sums of mony and doe still goe on to make more."<sup>105</sup> The warrant further authorized Plight to seize all Baltimore coins, along with any dies, tools and other equipment used in minting the coins and to bring the evidence to the Council.<sup>106</sup>

The next day, Wednesday, October 5th, the Council of State issued an order requiring Lord Calvert to appear before the Committee of the Council for Plantations,<sup>107</sup> which was charged with investigating the accusation that "...a great quantity of Silver is coyned into peeces of diverse rates & values, and sent into Maryland by the Lo. Baltimore or his Order."<sup>108</sup> Based on the charges brought forward, Phil Mossman and Michael Hodder have explained Lord Baltimore's crime was not coining money without permission, as has usually been thought. Rather, as they have pointed out, the problems mentioned in the warrant were that Baltimore was minting sterling coinage that differed from the Tower of London standard, namely, that his coins were underweight for the value assigned to them, and that he was intending to export those sterling coins.<sup>109</sup> Exportation was a problem because according to English law only coppers could be exported, since no gold or silver could be removed from England without prior authorization.<sup>110</sup>

It appears the investigation was quite brief and resulted in a favorable judgment for Baltimore, because just seven days after the warrant was issued, Baltimore was urging that action be taken to facilitate the emission of his coinage. Indeed, as we have seen, Baltimore wrote to Governor Fendall and the Maryland Council,<sup>111</sup> on October 12, 1659, enclosing a sample of a shilling, sixpence and groat and requesting assistance in promoting the use of the coinage so that additional investors could be attracted to keep the project operating in future years. Baltimore explained to Governor Fendall that he had obtained approval for the coinage stating that he had "...with great paines and charge, procured Necessaries for a particular coyne to be current in

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<sup>105</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 3, p. 365; Crosby, p. 129.

<sup>106</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 3, p. 365; Crosby, p. 129. The document is transcribed under the heading "Orders of the Councell of State."

<sup>107</sup> See footnote 82, above, on the various names of this group.

<sup>108</sup> Crosby, p. 130.

<sup>109</sup> Mossman, pp. 90-91; Hodder, "Cecil Calvert's Coinage," pp. 1360-62.

<sup>110</sup> L. Jordan, pp. 148-49.

<sup>111</sup> The Council consisted of the Governor and Provincial Secretary along with a small group of advisors. This group acted as the upper house of the Maryland General Assembly.

Maryland....<sup>112</sup> In a letter of the same date to his brother, Philip Calvert, Baltimore reminded him that the coinage "...must not be imposed upon the people but by a Lawe there made by their consents in a Generall Assembly."<sup>113</sup> Based on these letters it appears that within eight days of the issuing of the warrant, Baltimore had either been exonerated or was confident of being exonerated.

Precisely what arguments Baltimore used before the Committee of the Council for Plantations are not recorded. However, from information on the discussion of the coinage in the upper house of the Maryland Assembly, described below, we may surmise Baltimore explained that his charter gave him the same rights as the medieval Bishops of Durham, who had held and exercised the right to issue coinage. Of course, this argument would not have freed him from either of the two accusations, but it seems Baltimore must have obtained, or expected to obtain, approval allowing him to both produce underweight silver coins and export them to Maryland. The Commonwealth had relaxed the laws regarding the exportation of bullion held in England and in 1651 instituted a new law allowing merchants to export two-thirds of any bullion they imported into England. It is quite possible that, in this climate, Baltimore may have been granted permission to export his silver. Indeed, if Baltimore had purchased foreign silver and imported it into England, there would have been no legal impediment to his exporting two-thirds of any such silver. Further, Massachusetts Bay had been openly producing lightweight silver coinage for local use since 1652, with no complaints from the English Commonwealth government; possibly Baltimore's request to produce lightweight coins for colonial use could have been viewed favorably in light of the Massachusetts precedent.<sup>114</sup> Interestingly, as we shall see below, Maryland legislation on the dissemination of the coinage refers to the importation of "money and bullion." This terminology leads one to suspect Baltimore may have overcome opposition by suggesting his "money" was to be treated as private bullion tokens valued by weight except in the province of Maryland where, as local *fiat* money, he expected they would circulate at face value. Also, as discussed below, it is possible Baltimore planned to eventually set up a mint in Maryland as had already been done in Massachusetts Bay. If this was the case, Baltimore may have explained the proposal for a mint to the Council for Plantations, characterizing this first issue as an experimental trial run and that future production would be moved to the colony.

### Die varieties and weight ranges of Baltimore coinage

As discussed above, the documents suggest Baltimore coinage was being minted at the Tower of London in late September and early October 1659. The coins were impressed using the hammer strike method rather than a mechanical press; however, it appears the dies were stabilized in some manner so they did not rotate because the obverse and reverse of Baltimore

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112 From Baltimore's letter of October 25, 1659, to Governor Josias Fendall and the Maryland Council, in Crosby, pp. 124-25 with the quote on p. 125 and (with a slightly different spelling and capitalization), the *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 3, pp. 383-84, "Hauing with great paines and Charge procured Necessaries for a particular Coyne to be Currant in Maryland...."

113 From Baltimore's letter of October 25, 1659, to his brother, Philip Calvert, Secretary of the Province of Maryland, in Crosby, p. 125 and (with a slightly different spelling and capitalization), the *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 3, p. 385, "...must not be imposed vpon the people but by a lawe there made by their Consents in a Gennerall Assembly...." As we have seen, according to Baltimore's charter, laws required the consent of the Maryland Assembly.

114 See L. Jordan, pp. 148-49 on bullion export and pp. 27-45 on the limited opposition to the Boston mint following the Restoration. Also, see p. 69 for an English citation of 1655 demonstrating acquiescence to the Boston mint and to the weight reduction.

coins are regularly aligned in a coin turn.<sup>115</sup> From the number of existing obverse and reverse varieties we know there was one obverse and one reverse die for the rare copper *denarium*, two obverse and two reverse dies for the groat, two obverse and four reverse dies for the sixpence and two obverse and two reverse dies for the shilling. The larger number of sixpence reverse dies might suggest the sixpence was the issue with the highest mintage. However, it seems there are extenuating circumstances regarding two of the dies. One reverse die may never have been used for production, as it is only known from a single copper trial strike specimen, now in the British Museum. Also, it appears another reverse die was defective at the time it was produced and therefore was probably taken out of service after only a brief period of use. Thus, it is possible only two reverse sixpence dies saw any extended production use.

Baltimore silver coinage is found in two obverse varieties, namely, the large bust and small bust varieties, with the Baltimore reverses distinguished by minor variations in the legend or by the positioning of the shield in relation to the legend. In the Norweb collection catalogue Michael Hodder assigned numbers to the obverse and letters to the reverse die varieties along with a listing of known combinations.<sup>116</sup> This classification system was created as an expedient to aid in distinguishing and discussing the several varieties offered in that auction (which included, the 2-D groat, the 1-B, 2-C and 2-D sixpence as well as two specimens of the 2-B shilling, one in silver and a second trial strike in copper). Although the classification is complete as to known varieties and combinations it was not meant to be construed as the definitive die emission sequence (see figures 7 and 11-14 for examples of the coins discussed below).

The known combinations of these die varieties are as follows: for the copper *denarium* there is only one combination designated as 1-A, of which there are very few extant examples.<sup>117</sup> Of the four pence or groat, there are two combinations, a large bust obverse with a hyphenated TERRÆ-MARIÆ and a reverse in which the bottom tip of the shield points between the letter V and L in the legend, listed by Hodder as 1-A, and a very rare small bust obverse with an unhyphenated TERRÆ-MARIÆ and a reverse in which the bottom tip of the shield points to the final leg of the letter M in the legend, classified as 2-B. For the sixpence there are the two obverse dies, a large bust designated as variety 1 and a small bust called variety 2, married with four reverse dies (A-D) in five combinations (1-A, 1-B, 2-B, 2-C and 2-D).<sup>118</sup> The four reverse varieties are distinguished as follows: on reverse A, which is only found on a unique copper trial specimen, the bottom tip of the shield points between the letters V and L in the legend; on reverse B the bottom tip of the shield

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115 The Morton and Eden cataloguer has astutely noted, "the pieces were manufactured using a "transitional" technique. They are not truly hand-hammered in the traditional sense, nor yet fully machine-struck by a screw-press. Evidently a mechanical system was used to keep the dies in precise register, as demonstrated by the die axis (consistently at 6 o'clock on recorded currency specimens) and by the similarity of "off-centering" with certain die-parings. This is felt to be particularly noticeable in the case of the error "MULTILICAMINI" sixpence (cf. lot 785 below)." (Morton and Eden, November 14, 2002; the quote is from the end of the introduction to the Baltimore sixpence in the unpaginated catalogue, just before the description of lot 767.)

116 Hodder, "The Maryland Coinage," in *The Norweb Collection, Part III*, pp. 232-38 with the classification on p. 233; the reverse diagnostics for the groat varieties actually refers to the obverses.

117 Breen, *Encyclopedia*, p. 20, cited only five known examples of the *denarium*. Hodder cites six known examples and describes details regarding the punch work on this variety along with excellent enlarged illustrations in *Ford, Part II*, lot 274, on p. 178. William Idler of Philadelphia copied the *denarium* pattern on a trade token he produced in the 1850s that is not deceptive. In his copies the obverse portrait is somewhat different from that on the original and the obverse includes Idler's advertisement around the rim between the portrait and the legend. Further, the legend on the Idler copy ends with CT while the original *denarium* legend ends with just the letter C (see figures 15 and 16).

118 The large bust sixpence, obverse 1, can be distinguished from the small bust, obverse 2, not only by size, but in the legend in MARIÆ on obverse 1, the letters M and A are separated by a space whereas on obverse 2 the serif on the final leg of the M touches first leg on the A; also, in the legend of the small bust, obverse 2, the first 'I' in CÆCILIVS was recut and the top of the original, mispositioned, lower 'I' can be seen above the recut letter.

points between the letter M and V in the legend; on reverse C the bottom tip of the shield points between the letter M and V in the legend, as in the previous reverse, but there is no stop, sometimes called a dot, period or punctuation, after the word MVLTIPPLICAMINI as is found on reverse B and all other varieties. Furthermore, reverse C displays a significant void in the die between C and A (see footnote 120 below for additional points of distinction between reverses B and C); and finally, in the very rare reverse D, the word *multiplicamini* is misspelled, lacking the letter P, and therefore reads as MVLTILICAMINI. A cache of sixpence, containing 18 examples of Hodder 2-C and one example of the very rare variety 2-D,<sup>119</sup> discovered at Fulbeck Hall in Lincolnshire, was sold at auction in November 2002.<sup>120</sup> A preliminary analysis of this group suggests die D was combined with obverse 2 before that obverse was married with dies B and then C. Obverse 2 is particularly sharp and fully struck in the Fulbeck Hall example of the 2-D variety (as is also the case on the other two surviving specimens of this variety that were in Garrett and Norweb collections), suggesting obverse die 2 was recently put into service when it was paired with reverse die D. However, in the 2-C specimens, the impression of obverse 2 is always somewhat weak and frequently shows die clash marks, sometimes they are indistinct or faint, above the bust at about eleven to one o'clock (the incuse letters on the obverse of the coins, from the reverse legend that clashed with the obverse die, are ET : MVLT), suggesting obverse 2 had been used previously for some period of time before the 2-C coins were minted and thus implying obverse 2 was married with reverse C after it had been paired with reverses D and then B. The cataloguer at Morton and Eden noted:

It is possible that die D was withdrawn because of the spelling mistake, but such errors are not uncommon on British coins of the 1650s and it is perhaps more likely that the die itself was unsatisfactory and had to be withdrawn. Examination of the surviving coins struck from die D suggests that its surface was not completely flat. The cataloguers noted "severe reverse die sinking" on both the Norweb and Garrett specimens, and the curvature on the flan of the present example is also clear, particularly at six o'clock.<sup>121</sup>

Regarding sixpence obverses, it appears obverse 1 was joined with reverse A and then it was combined with reverse B. Clearly, reverse A was used for an initial copper trial strike but for some reason it was replaced with reverse B at the start of, or very early in, the production run. It also seems likely that obverse 2 was first paired with reverse D until the defective die D was taken out of service and replaced with reverse B (that had previously been paired with obverse 1). At that point a new reverse die was cut, die C, and used for the remainder of the emission with obverse 2. Possibly, the emission sequence for the sixpence was 1-A, 1-B, 2-D, 2-B and finally 2-C, so that the sequence for the reverse dies was A, B, D and finally C. The shilling is found in two combinations, a large bust variety that includes the standard colon (MARIÆ :) with a reverse having the tip of the shield point between the letters M and V in the legend (1-A) and a small bust

119 Only three specimens are known, namely, the Garrett (then to Ford), Norweb and the Fulbeck Hall examples.

120 The coins, auctioned by Morton and Eden, came to light as part of the estate of the late Mary Fry (*née* Fane) where they were discovered in a small silver cylinder used to hold game counters at the Fane estate, Fulbeck Hall, in Lincolnshire, England. The coins had been at Fulbeck Hall for several generations and may have been in the family since the seventeenth century. The catalogue classifies 18 sixpence as examples of Hodder 2-B, but they clearly have no stop after MVLTIPPLICAMINI and are the 2-C variety. Additional points of difference in the Hodder B and C sixpence reverses (other than the presence of the stop in B and the lack of a stop in C) are as follows: in reverse B the roman numeral V in the denomination is opposite the letter C in the legend, the roman numeral I is opposite the letter T in the legend and the left edge of the crown points to the first leg of the letter N in the legend whereas on reverse C the roman numeral V in the denomination is opposite the letter I in the legend, the roman numeral I is opposite the letters CI in the legend and the left edge of the crown points to the M in the legend. Compare Norweb lots 3400 (reverse C) and 3402 (reverse B) for illustrations of Baltimore sixpence Hodder 2-C and 1-B.

121 Morton and Eden, November 14, 2002, unpaginated, found above the description of lot 770. Such a defect would most likely be caused by improper hardening of the face of the die.



variety that lacks a colon after MARIÆ with a reverse in which the shield touches the base of the V (2-B). An undescribed obverse, with a different reverse, was mentioned by Ruding in the early nineteenth century, but this item has remained unverified for over one-and-a-half centuries and that report is now discredited.<sup>122</sup>

The weight ranges of some of the better surviving examples of Baltimore silver show much variation.<sup>123</sup> The Garrett silver shilling was 61.8 grains, the ANS has an example at 64.19 grains (1949.92.1), the Ford shilling was 66.5 grains, a second ANS specimen is 71.29 grains (1950.185.1), while the Norweb coin was 73.3 grains; the Stack's January 2000 *Americana Sale* example (lot 83) was 74.3 grains and Breen lists known shilling weights up to 76 grains. The largest hoard of Lord Baltimore silver is the 19 sixpence coins discovered at Fulbeck Hall whose weights range from 25.0 to 45.5 grains. The Norweb collection had one sixpence at 33.6 grains and two others at 44.3 grains, while the Ford specimens were 44.2 and 44.4 grains<sup>124</sup> and the example at the ANS (1922.179.1) weighs 34.16 grains. As to the groat, the Norweb coin was 19.8 grains, the ANS specimen (1949.43.1) is 21.69 grains and the Garrett example was 30.3 grains.<sup>125</sup>

Clearly, these coins reflect a reduction from the English standard weights of 92.9 grains per shilling, 46.45 grains per sixpence and 30.97 grains per groat. The six examples of shillings given above are underweight by 33.5%, 30.9%, 28.4%, 23.3%, 21.1% and 20% respectively. Although this sample is too small to yield any overall averages, we note that three shillings are either at or close to a 20% reduction from the English sterling standard weight while three others are lighter, at about a 30% reduction. As to the groat, the sampling represents even fewer coins than the shillings. Two of the three specimens are well below the English weight standard, being underweight by 36.1 and 30%, but the Garrett coin was merely 2.2% below the standard.

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<sup>122</sup> Ruding, vol. 1, p. 417, footnote 2. The passage is also cited in a postscript in Crosby on p. 369. Ruding states, "One shilling has the arms of his wife, a cross botony, quartered on the reverse. This coin, which is supposed to be unique, was in the possession of the late Sir Frederick Morton Eden, bart." (bart. is an abbreviation for baronet). Crosby went on to say "We have no knowledge of this piece, having never found any other mention of it." Possibly this item was an inaccurately described Lord Baltimore medal. The Baltimore Indian Peace medal has a portrait of Lord Baltimore with his titles on the obverse and a portrait of his wife, Lady Anne Arundel, with her titles on the reverse. See Stahl, p. 161; Betts, p. 21, item 34. Betts also lists two other Baltimore medals, pp. 21-22, items 35 and 36. Michael Hodder informed me that he contacted the decedents of Sir Frederick Eden who reported they had no knowledge of the coin and suspected Ruding had been forwarded a spurious report.

<sup>123</sup> Some of the higher grade specimens of Baltimore silver recently offered at auction have been "slabbed" or encased in plastic by grading services that do not include coin weight in their descriptions, as the Baltimore silver in the Early American History Auction, *Mail Bid Auction*, October 14, 2000, lot 979 (shilling); the Ira and Larry Goldberg, *Pre-Long Beach Auction*, September 23 and 24, 2002, lots 16 (sixpence) and 17 (shilling); Superior Galleries, *Pre-Long Beach Elite Coin Auction*, May 25-27, 2003, lot 3 (shilling) and the Chris McCawley and Bob Grellman, *Ninth Annual C-4 Convention Sale*, November 8, 2003, lot 14 (shilling). Unfortunately, important specimens are turned into encased trophies, a situation that severely curtails their value for research. Additionally, since weight is one of the more significant factors in determining if an example in a catalogue is the same coin as one that was auctioned previously, slabbing can even hinder population studies. Keeping track of a specimen by the slabbing company number and the assigned grade is of limited use, since on several occasions individuals have taken a coin out of one slab just to have it reslabbed by another firm (or even the same firm) with the hope that the coin will be assigned a higher grade than previously!

<sup>124</sup> The Ford example of a Hodder 2-B, lot 275 was recorded at 44.2 grains, while Ford lot 276, the Hodder 2-D MVLILICAMINI variety, which had formerly been in the Garrett collection, was recorded at 44.4 grains, although in the Garrett catalogue is had been listed at 44.2 grains.

<sup>125</sup> The examples and their weights are from: *The Garrett Collection, Part III*, October 1 and 2, 1980, New York City: Bowers and Ruddy Galleries, pp. 21-22; *The Norweb Collection, Part III*, November 14 and 15, 1988, New York City: Bowers and Merena, pp. 232-38; Morton and Eden, *Ancient, British and World Coins; War Medals and Decorations; Historical Medals; Banknotes*, to be sold by auction at The Wesbury Hotel, Broad Street, London, November 13-14, 2002, unpaginated, lots 767-86; *John J. Ford, Jr. Collection: Coins Medals and Currency, Part II*, May 11, 2004, New York City: Stack's, pp. 174-80; and the American Numismatic Society database on their website at: <http://www.amnumsoc.org/search/> (last accessed November 15, 2003).

Fortunately, we have a somewhat larger sampling for sixpence, including a non-collector accumulation of 19 well preserved specimens from Fulbeck Hall that do not contain post-emission clipping or filing marks and thus probably closely reflect their original weights. The weights of Baltimore sixpence are given in the following table with percentages rounded to the nearest tenth of a percent. Weights without provenance are from the Fulbeck Hall accumulation:

**Baltimore sixpence weights and their relationship to the English sterling weight standard**

Sixpence weight in grains	Percent of English standard (46.45 grains)	Percent below English standard
25.0	53.8	46.2
30.4	65.4	34.6
32.6	71.2	28.2
33.6	72.3	27.7
33.6 (Norweb)	72.3	27.7
34.16 (ANS)	73.5	26.5
34.4	74.1	25.9
34.7	74.7	25.3
36.1	77.7	22.3
37.0	79.7	20.3
37.0	79.7	20.3
37.3	80.3	19.7
37.8	81.4	18.6
38.1	82.0	18.0
38.7	83.3	16.7
39.2	84.4	15.6
40.7	87.6	12.4
41.4	89.1	10.9
41.5	89.3	10.7
42.2 (Ford)	90.9	9.1
44.3 (Norweb)	95.4	4.6
44.3 (Norweb)	95.4	4.6
44.4 (Ford)	95.6	4.4
45.5	97.6	2.4
45.5	97.6	2.4

All of the 25 samples are below the English weight standard, one is significantly lighter than the others at a 46.2% reduction while another is 34.6% below standard, there are nine examples in the range of a 20%-30% reduction, eight coins that are reduced by more than 10% but less than 20% and six specimens that are less than 10% under the standard. Within this wide range the mathematical average of all 25 coins calculates to 37.98 grains, with a standard deviation of  $\pm 5.1$ , yielding an average reduction of 18.2% from the English standard. However, if we limit our sample

to the non-collector Fulbeck Hall accumulation, and thereby eliminate the collector preference for acquiring heavier examples as are found in the Ford and Norweb collections, we arrive at an average weight of 37.18 grains, with a standard deviation of  $\pm 4.93$ , yielding an average reduction of 20% from the English standard. But, the small sample size and the wide weight fluctuation yield a significant standard deviation making the results statistically inconclusive. For example, using the 37.98 grains average, the standard deviation of  $\pm 5.1$  grains places our average between 43.08 and 32.88 grains, that is an average reduction of somewhere between 5.1 and 29.2%, while the Fulbeck Hall accumulation standard deviation of  $\pm 4.93$  places that average between 42.11 and 32.25 grains, yielding an average reduction of between 9.3 and 30.6%. A third alternative is to limit the sample to the Fulbeck Hall hoard but to discard the outliers, namely the two lightest examples at 25.0 grains and 30.4 grains as well as the two heaviest examples, both at 45.5 grains. For the remaining 15 coins we get an average weight of 37.34 grains, which is 19.6% below the English weight standard. This is slightly heavier than the average for all the Fulbeck Hall coins, which was a 20% reduction, and it is a little lighter than the average of all 25 sixpence coins, which came to 18.2% below standard. In addition, this calculation gives a smaller standard deviation of  $\pm 2.74$ , yielding a spread of from 40.08 grains to 34.6 grains or an average reduction of between 13.7 and 25.5% from the sterling standard, but it also reduces the already small sample by 21% from 19 to 15 coins. Thus we have three tentative averages for sixpence, namely, an 18.2, 19.6 and 20% reduction from the sterling average. However, based on the wide weight spread of these coins the sample size needs to be greatly expanded to obtain more precise results.

The dramatic weight fluctuations found in these well preserved specimens of Baltimore silver suggest the coins were produced in a manner similar to the manufacture of token coinages, which were prepared at a specific number of coins per pound of metal. Typically, coins issued by the pound were made from copper or tin, but Baltimore coinage was sterling. With all other sterling issues of that era, which included regal English and Scottish issues as well as Massachusetts coinage, the individual planchets were inspected and weighed to insure a relatively uniform weight throughout the emission.<sup>126</sup> A fairly uniform weight insured the public that they could trust each individual sterling coin to have a relatively stable intrinsic value. However, Lord Baltimore did not consider the wide weight disparities of individual samples to be a significant problem because Baltimore silver was to be *fiat* money, trading at a legislated value rather than intrinsic value, with circulation limited to Maryland. Therefore, he followed the method used for token production replacing individual coin inspection with a simple count of the number of coins per troy pound, which made the minting process less labor intensive and therefore less costly.

We have seen that the Maryland mint legislation authorized a shilling at an unspecified weight that was only defined as "above" the weight of nine pence sterling. This meant Maryland silver would not, on average, exceed a 25% weight reduction. Based on this wording it appears Lord Baltimore Maryland planned to imitate the successful Massachusetts mint. The Massachusetts mint operated under legislation authorizing a 22.5% reduction from the English standard to which was added a wastage allowance that permitted the mintmaster to issue coins averaging a 23% weight reduction. During the period under consideration we know Massachusetts silver traded in England at a 25% discount from sterling. Baltimore certainly realized this fact and probably used the discounted rate to derive the 25% differential limit mentioned in the Maryland mint act.<sup>127</sup>

The average weight of Baltimore coinage cannot be reliably determined without a much larger sample of high quality, undamaged coins. Acknowledging that I have too few examples to calculate a precise average weight, one can estimate and hypothesize from the very small sample given above that Baltimore shillings tended to be 20 to 30% below the English standard, while the

<sup>126</sup> See L. Jordan, pp. 55-73 for minting tolerances in England and Massachusetts Bay.

<sup>127</sup> L. Jordan, pp. 68-73 for the 25% differential when Massachusetts coinage was used for sterling payments.

somewhat larger number of sixpence yield a tentative average weight of somewhere between an 18.2 to 20% reduction from the sterling standard. Because it is technically more difficult to achieve consistency in the weight and dimension of smaller planchets, a wider variation is apparent in the lower denominations as in the sixpence and groats than that seen in the shillings.<sup>128</sup> The fact that there was such a wide individual variation in coin weights leads to the tentative conclusion that the weight parameters under which Baltimore silver was minted were not determined – like for regal specie coins – on the basis of the size of each individual planchet, but rather on the basis of the number of coins minted per pound of silver, a practice quite typically used for tokens. This observed weight structure of wide ranging individual values, all averaging well below the sterling weight standard, further supports the concept that Baltimore silver was a *fiat* coinage minted for the profit of its sponsors.

### Political problems in Maryland and the delay in passing coinage legislation

Lord Baltimore's situation fared better in his hometown of London than in Maryland where problems continued to mount. Calvert's October letters on coinage legislation must have reached Maryland by sometime in December.<sup>129</sup> Undoubtedly, his letters were read and legislation was drafted in anticipation of the forthcoming meeting of the Maryland General Assembly. On January 12, 1660, writs were issued to the sheriffs of each of the six counties in Maryland ordering them to hold elections so that four representatives could be selected from each county for the lower house, the House of Burgesses (later called the House of Delegates), in the upcoming General Assembly to be convened on the last Tuesday of February.<sup>130</sup> Likewise, on the same day, an order was issued to the Provincial Secretary, Philip Calvert, that he was to inform the governor and the councilors that they were required to attend the Assembly as the upper house or Council.<sup>131</sup> On February 28, 1660, the general Assembly of Maryland convened; however, some members of the lower house had not yet arrived so the Assembly adjourned until the next day. This situation continued for several days, until on Saturday, March 3, 1660, the final straggler, William Evans, a representative for St. Mary's County, was replaced with Luke Gardner. With the Assembly in place, the first substantive meeting was convened on Monday, March 5th.<sup>132</sup>

Meanwhile, the Governor and his Council had begun meeting on Friday, March 2nd. At the Council meeting of Saturday, March 3, 1660, Lord Baltimore's letter of October 12, 1659, mentioned above, was read and officially entered into the minutes.<sup>133</sup> The letter stated that after great pain

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<sup>128</sup> Using sterling weight as the standard, the weight differential among the six Baltimore shillings comes to 13.5%, for the 25 sixpence it jumps to 43.8% and for the three groats it is 33.9%. Lower tolerances needed for smaller denominations were more difficult to achieve, and therefore smaller silver coins had wider weight fluctuations than larger sized coins.

<sup>129</sup> Typically it took six to eight weeks for a letter to arrive from England, see L. Jordan, p. 13, footnote 5.

<sup>130</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, pp. 381-82. The represented areas were St. Mary's, Calvert, Charles, Anne Arundell, Kent and Baltimore counties. The elected members, called Burgesses or Delegates, were: St Mary's County - Robert Slye, William Barton, Capt. William Evans (replaced by Luke Gardner) and James Langworth; Kent County - Joseph Wicks, Thomas Hinson, Henry Morgan and John Russell; Anne Arundell County - Maj. Richard Ewen, Capt. Thomas Howell, Lt. Richard Woollman, Lt. William Burgess, Capt. William Fuller, Thomas Taylor, Robert Clarkson (note that this Puritan stronghold sent seven representatives rather than the authorized four); Calvert County - William Parker, Sampson Waring, Richard Preston (who left for England before the Assembly convened) and Michael Brookes; Charles County - John Hatch, Robert Hunley, Zachary Wade and Capt. John Jenkins; and from Baltimore County Maj. Samuel Gouldsmith, George Gouldsmyth, Godfrey Bayley, and Francis Stockett.

<sup>131</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 382-83. In addition to Secretary Calvert and Governor Josias Fendall, the council members were William Stone, Thomas Gerrard, Col. John Price, Dr. Luke Barber, Col. Nathaniel Utie (or sometimes Utye), Baker Brooke and Edward Lloyde.

<sup>132</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 382-84.

<sup>133</sup> Edward Lloyde was absent from this meeting, *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 3, p. 383.

and cost Baltimore had procured the “Necessaries for a particular coyne to be current in Maryland” and requested the Maryland Council to promote the disbursing of the coinage. He went on to recommend that the Council take the following steps regarding the coinage:

By Proclamation to make [it] current within Maryland, for all payments upon contracts or causes happening or arising after a day to be by you limited in the said Proclamation; And to procure an act of assembly for the punishing of such as shall counterfeit the said Coyne, or otherwise offend in that behalfe, according to the form of an act recommended by me last year to my Governour and Secretary; or as neere it as you can procure from the Assembly, and to give me your advise next year touching what you think best to be further done in that matter touching coyne;...<sup>134</sup>

The letter was read on Saturday and at the very next meeting, on Monday, March 5th, when the Assembly finally began to consider legislation, an “Act for setting vp of a Mint” was read in Council and sent to the lower house.<sup>135</sup> The speed with which this legislation was produced, and that it went so far beyond what Baltimore requested in his October letter, suggest the preliminary discussions that Baltimore had conducted over the previous year must have focused on the establishment of a mint. The text of the 1660 proposal does not survive, but we do have early drafts as well as the text of the final 1661 version; more than likely, the 1660 proposal was similar to the earlier of the two 1661 drafts. Both 1661 drafts and the final act included the measures requested in Baltimore’s letter, namely, making the coin current and punishment for counterfeiting as well as establishing a mint where coins of a specified weight and fineness would be produced.

The 1660 act for establishing a mint was never addressed by the lower house. The reason for the numerous delays in convening the Assembly became apparent just seven days later. It was not simply a matter of some tardy representatives, but rather, the Puritan faction had intentionally delayed the proceeding in order to convince legislators to support a secret scheme they were plotting to usurp Baltimore’s authority.

One week after the representatives convened, that is, on Monday, March 12, 1660, a statement was delivered to the Council from the lower house informing the Council that the Burgesses “judged themselves to be a lawful Assembly without dependence on any other power.”<sup>136</sup> They effectively declared themselves to be the only legitimate governing body and asked the governor and his council to take seats in the lower house. Basically, they hoped to take advantage of the clause in the charter that all laws needed the consent of the Assembly. Assuming they would have the support of the Protestant inhabitants, the Burgesses believed they could force Lord Baltimore out of power and that the Commonwealth government in England would support them. They hoped to use the unstable political situation in the Commonwealth to their benefit. Richard Cromwell, who became the Lord Protector following his father’s death on September 3, 1658, was encountering serious opposition from a faction of the military who formed a council that seized power and then, on April 21, 1659, forced Cromwell to dissolve Parliament. This faction reestablished the Rump Parliament that had been dissolved in 1653 by Oliver Cromwell. The political power struggle that ensued, both within the military and within Parliament, left Richard Cromwell powerless and resulted in his abdication of the Protectorship on May 25, 1660. It seems the Maryland Puritans

<sup>134</sup> Crosby, p. 125.

<sup>135</sup> The minutes of the Council simply stated “Then was read an Act for setting vp of a Mint and sent to the lower howse.” The text of the act was not included, *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 387. The minutes for that day begin on p. 384 and conclude on p. 388. Price and Barber were absent from this meeting.

<sup>136</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 388. Fendall, Calvert, Gerard, Price, Brooke and Utie were present at this meeting. Interestingly, this attempt by the Maryland Puritans to take control of the government occurred just a few days before the Commonwealth Parliament was dissolved on March 16, 1660. On May 8th a proclamation was issued in London restoring the monarchy and on May 29th Charles II was installed as King of England.

hoped the unstable situation in England would work to their advantage and that they could usurp power from Lord Baltimore.

On Tuesday, March 13th, the Maryland Governor's Council held a conference with Robery Slye and Thomas Hinson of the House of Burgesses. Based on discussions held on Tuesday and Wednesday, Governor Fendall and two councilors, Thomas Gerard and Nathaniel Utie, consented to the demands of the lower house, under the provision that the Governor be designated President of the Assembly. Philip Calvert, the Provincial Secretary, and two other councilors, Baker Brooke and John Price professed allegiance to Lord Baltimore and departed.<sup>137</sup>

Indeed, it is thought Fendall, Gerard and Utie may have been allied with William Fuller and his Protestant backers, as co-conspirators in planning the takeover. The actions of this group were interpreted by most colonists as a breach of the charter and thus seen as an act of rebellion. Philip Calvert returned to England to personally explain the situation to his brother and government authorities. The restoration of Charles II to the throne on May 29th was a further setback to these anti-royalist rebels. Unable to gain the confidence of the colonists, their support base quickly eroded. Fendall was removed from office and then on June 24, 1660, Lord Baltimore commissioned his brother, Philip Calvert, as governor.<sup>138</sup> On September 14, 1660, Baltimore published a declaration that he would grant amnesty to any rebel who repented, but that Fendall and his associates were to be seized. Aided with letters from the recently restored Charles II supporting Baltimore, Governor Calvert returned to Maryland where he was sworn into office on December 11, 1660. In February 1661 Fendall was convicted of treason, but pardoned on the 28th after paying a fine and providing surety that he would remain on good behavior although forbidden to ever hold a government position. William Fuller fled to South Carolina, never to return.

### **The Maryland mint act of 1661**

The unstable political situation had delayed passage of the coinage legislation, which, in turn, postponed the distribution of the coinage. Finally, on April 17, 1661, a new General Assembly was convened under Governor Philip Calvert. The Council consisted of Governor Calvert, Provincial Secretary Henry Coursey and the counselors Robert Clarke, Baker Brooke, Edward Lloyd and John Bateman.<sup>139</sup> The "Acte for the Mint" was reintroduced in the Council on Monday, April 22, 1661, after a year's hiatus. This time the legislation was read and put up for a vote. Calvert, Bateman and Clarke voted in favor of the legislation but Lloyd and Brooke voted against passage, and Secretary Coursey was absent. It was then ordered that the act be put on the agenda for the next day for its second reading.<sup>140</sup> In the Council meeting on Tuesday, April 23rd, it was read a second time and a vote was taken as to whether the act should be engrossed, that is, recorded in its final form. As on the previous day, Calvert, Bateman and Clarke voted to engross, while Lloyd and Brooke voted not to engross and Coursey was again absent.

The reason for the two dissenting votes is not immediately evident since Brooke and Lloyd were from two very different factions. The 32-year-old Protestant planter, Baker Brooke, had been and continued to be a supporter of Lord Baltimore. Indeed, three years later, in 1664, he converted to Catholicism and married Anne Calvert, daughter of Leonard Calvert and niece to Lord Baltimore.<sup>141</sup> The other dissenter, Edward Lloyd, was a Puritan who had moved to Maryland from

<sup>137</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, pp. 389-91.

<sup>138</sup> Philip Calvert held the position of governor for a little over a year. On September 14, 1661, Lord Baltimore commissioned his son and heir, Charles Calvert, as governor.

<sup>139</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, pp. 393-97.

<sup>140</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 399.

<sup>141</sup> Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 168. The name is usually spelled Brooke but it is occasionally found as Brook.

Virginia in 1649 and became a supporter of Richard Bennett and William Claiborne. In 1653 he protested the oath of fidelity to the Proprietary and in 1654 was selected as a member of William Fuller's Parliamentary Commission of ten that ousted Governor Stone and took control of the province. Lloyd held about 600 acres in Anne Arundel County in 1654 and continued to add to his estate, so that during his later years in the 1690s he held at least 7,300 acres in Anne Arundel, Talbot and Kent Counties. Lloyd was appointed to the Council in 1658 and remained in that position for a decade because of his substantial economic and political influence. Interestingly, he had been absent from the Council meeting during the aborted March 1660 Assembly, when the mint act was first brought up for consideration and thus it is no surprise that he voted against the legislation.<sup>142</sup> A clue as to why Brooke opposed the measure is found in a notation added to the Council minutes: "Memorandum that the Dissenters to this vote dissented vpon this Ground that they were not certaynly informed that the County Pallantine of Durham had liberty to Coine."<sup>143</sup> Certainly Brooke, who was one of the Councilmen that had supported Baltimore against Fendall a year earlier, realized his lordship had been granted approval for the mint. Indeed, Baltimore had stated as much in his October 1659 letter that was read at the Council meeting of March 3, 1660, just before the mint act was introduced. Baltimore said that he had procured the "Necessaries for a particular coyne to be current in Maryland." Brooke had not only seen the letter, but, as a council member, had participated in the discussions on March 3, 1660, regarding the draft of the enabling legislation. He understood Baltimore had obtained permission for his coinage but this approval had been issued under the Commonwealth. However, now, with the restoration of the monarchy in May 1660, the political situation in England had changed. It appears Brooke was being cautious and wanted absolute confirmation that the Bishop of Durham had indeed been granted the right to mint silver coins and that Baltimore was not overstepping his authority by treading on royal prerogatives.

A week later, on Tuesday, April 30, 1661, the mint act was once again read and voted on by the Council. This time Coursey was present and the vote was Calvert, Coursey, Bateman and Clarke to pass with Lloyd and Brooke voting to reject.<sup>144</sup> Unfortunately, there are no surviving records from the meetings of the lower house of the General Assembly but it is clear that they approved the measure. The Assembly adjourned on May 2, 1661, and the mint act was written into the proceeding of the General Assembly of April 17 - May 2, 1661, as a newly passed law (known as 1661, chapter 4). The text from the *Journal of the Upper House (1659-69)* on pages 105-6 is as follows:

An Acte Concerning the Setting vp of a Mint within this Province of Maryland  
For as much as money being the Rule and measure of the vallue of Commodities noe trade or Commerce can be well managed without itt, And the want of itt in this Province is a mayne hinderance to the Advancement of this Collony in Trades Manafactors Townes and all other thinges which conduce to the flourishing and happy State thereof Wee the Freemen of this Province assembled in this present Generall Assembly doe humbly praye the Lord Proprietary of this Province to take order for the Setting vp of a Mint for the Coyneing of money within this Province and Consent that it may be Enacted And be it Enacted by the Lord Proprietary with the consent of the vpper and lower howse of this p'sent Generall Assembly that the money soe Coyned or which shall be Coyned in the said Mint shall be as good Silver as the Currant Coyne of English Sterling money, And that the weight of every Shilling soe Coyned as aforesaid shall weigh above nine pence in such Silver as aforesaid And so proporconably for other peeces of money Coyned in the said Mint And it is further Enacted that every offence of Clippi[ng] Counterfeiting Stealeing [a

142 Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 534.

143 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 400.

144 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 405.

mistranscription for Scaling, as is found in the drafts. In this sense scaling refers to the removal or shedding off of the outer surface, most often done by filing coins down] washing or any way diminish[ing] any Coyne soe to be made within this Province, or of wittingly Importing into this Province any Coyn[e] Counterfeiting any Sorte of Coyne which shall be made in the said Mint, or that shall be by the Lord Proprietarys authority and the authority of this p'sent Assembly, made Currant shall be deemed and adjudged Felony and every offender thereof Convict according to the lawe of this Province shall suffer payne of death and forfeite his or her lands Goods and Chatties within this Province to the Lord Proprietary and his heires Lords and Proprietarys of this Province

And it is further Enacted by the authority aforesaid that the Lord Proprietary and his heires Lords and Proprietarys of this Province shall take and Accept the said Coyne in payment for his Rent Arreares of rent and all other Engagem<sup>ts</sup> due vnto him the said Lord Proprietary and his heires lords and Proprietarys of this Province according to this Acte.

The Lower howse haue Assented  
Will Bretton Clk [William Bretton, Clerk]

The Vpper howse haue Assented  
John Gittings Clre [John Gittings, Clerk] <sup>145</sup>

If we compare this legislation with Baltimore's requests in his letters of October 12, 1659, we notice some differences. The most prominent modification is found in the preamble, wherein the discussion focused on the advantages to the province if a mint were established and a supply of money were available. In this context money specifically refers to coinage rather than credits or commodities. The argument stated that coinage would facilitate exchange since it would act as a universally accepted standard of value in place of barter or the use of tobacco as commodity money. A money economy would allow trade and manufacturing to develop, which, in turn, would allow for the growth of towns in place of the present arrangement of agricultural estates. In order to facilitate economic expansion the province was legislating this act to set up a mint to produce sterling silver coinage.

No information survives relating to the proposed plan of operation for the mint. Possibly, the intent was to imitate the mint in Massachusetts Bay, where Spanish American cobs were assayed and melted down and then molded into strips that were later rolled out to a uniform thickness and then cut into sterling silver planchets that were machine pressed into coins.<sup>146</sup> However, such an enterprise would be a monumental undertaking in Maryland where there were few skilled craftsmen of any kind; the province was not even able to attract an adequate number of coopers to fulfill the planters' annual orders for hogsheads. Boston had a far more developed infrastructure with several silversmiths, gunmakers, clockmakers, blacksmiths and even a nearby ironworks. These individuals and businesses offered services and products that helped keep the Massachusetts Bay Mint operational by providing replacement parts and repairs for the assay equipment and the furnace as well as for the rolling and coining machines and also supplying them with specialized tools and essential items such as hardened steel cylinders to be turned into dies.<sup>147</sup> No such infrastructure was present in Maryland. It seems more likely that the proposed mint in Maryland

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145 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 414-15; recorded in the British State Papers, Colonial Entry Book; see, *Calendar of State Papers, 1661-1668*, item 72 (law 5) on p. 24.

146 A mechanical press was used at the Massachusetts mint from the start of the Willow Tree series, which I date to 1654. During the first years of operation NE coins were produced using a hammer and punches to directly impress letters and numerals on the planchets.

147 L. Jordan, pp. 74-94 on the processes performed at the Boston mint, and pp. 135-39 and 142-47 on the various people that assisted the mint.



was conceived of as a smaller and more limited operation than the Boston mint. Probably the Maryland mint intended to use the older hammer method to produce modest emissions of coins rather than imitating the larger output of the mechanical press that was used in Boston. Indeed, it is possible the dies to be used were the hammer dies Baltimore had commissioned in London, or newer copies of those dies made in London and shipped to Maryland. Unfortunately, we simply do not know much about the proposed mint. But, based on the realities of life in Maryland in 1661, the mint had to have been conceived as a far more modest operation than the contemporary Boston mint, which was producing Oak Tree coinage at that time.<sup>148</sup>

In his letters of October 12, 1659, Lord Baltimore had asked the governor and his council to promote the coinage "all you can." The arguments in the preamble were clearly the reasons that convinced the legislature to approve the coinage and a mint. Based on the iconography of the coins, it is evident Baltimore saw his money as a medium for political propaganda whereby he could proclaim his authority over the various factions in Maryland, in addition to his clearly expressed intent that this be a profit-making venture. He understood there would be some opposition to the profit motive aspect of the enterprise; therefore, he kept reminding his council that they were expected to do everything possible to insure that the colonists accept the coinage, as he had been assured they would. Baltimore was aware that the colonists might be reluctant to accept reduced weight silver at face value and therefore encouraged his council to actively promote its acceptance. However, he did not view the issuing of the coinage as a step in transforming the economy from agrarian to commercial, but he did believe his small privately funded emission, if accepted, could help facilitate local exchange among the colonists in Maryland. Further emissions could follow if the venture proved profitable. Certainly the governor and his council overstated the significance that this initial small infusion of silver would have on the economy, since they were clearly anticipating a major success for the initial coinage and expecting several more emissions in the future. They sidestepped the question of mint profits and focused on the potential benefits of the mint to the local economy.

The Maryland mint act is somewhat ambiguous on the specific weight of the coinage. This may have been done to give Baltimore some flexibility to modify the target weight. The wording may have also been written ambiguously in this legislation to keep the discussion from addressing the specifics of coin production and especially from addressing potential profits since the mint was to be established for the fiscal advantage of the Proprietary and the investors. The requests from Baltimore relating to laws against counterfeiting were included in the act and, compared with the two earlier versions, we see the statute was expanded in this regard between the first and second draft of the legislation. The earlier draft of the 1661 act does not mention the criminality of knowingly importing counterfeit coinage into the province, whereas such a clause was included in the later draft and in the final legislation quoted above. The later draft also specified that the counterfeiting penalties applied not only to the falsification of any Maryland coinage but the prohibition was also extended to include any coin the Lord Proprietary and the Assembly made current. This latter situation was not addressed in the earlier draft that spoke only of his lordship's silver.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Due to Commonwealth era legislation allowing for the export of two-thirds of any silver imported into England (see L. Jordan, pp. 148-49 and also 165-66 for the Restoration era), one could go so far as to theorize that Baltimore and his fellow investors might have planned to periodically purchase sterling planchets produced to their specifications in London and then ship the planchets to Maryland where a blacksmith would simply stamp them into coins using the hammer method. Perhaps investors only expected to produce small numbers of coins, as in the 1659 minting, only initiating additional emissions periodically as needed, rather than undertaking a continual or even an annual emission.

<sup>149</sup> The two drafts are transcribed in Crosby, the earlier draft is on p. 126 and the later draft on p. 127.

Interestingly, Baltimore had asked that his coinage be made "...current within Maryland, for all payments upon contracts or causes..." from a date specified by the governor in a proclamation. However, in the 1661 legislation it only stated that Lord Baltimore and his heirs would "take and Accept the said Coyne" in payment of rent, past due rent and for other sums owed to him; in other words, the provincial authorities would accept the coinage at face value for taxes (i.e. rent) as well as for fines and other debts owed to the colony. The coinage was made current, that is, it was legal to circulate, but nobody was required to accept the coinage in trade. The wording in the Maryland mint act of 1661 was far less rigorous than was found in the enabling 1652 Massachusetts Bay mint legislation that stated Massachusetts silver was "acknowledged to be the Current coyne of the common wealth & pass from man to man in all payments accordingly within this Jurisdiction only."<sup>150</sup>

Here we see a crucial difference between the two acts. In Massachusetts Bay, coinage was produced under the jurisdiction of the General Court (the legislative assembly) for the benefit of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Profits earned from the weight disparity between English and Massachusetts standards were distributed between the mint and the consignor of the silver, thus a portion of the gain, which went to the mint, was used to underwrite the operation of the mint. This profit also induced individuals to bring silver into the mint insuring it would be a self-sustaining enterprise. Indeed, the profit additionally contributed some small remuneration to the Commonwealth from the annual fee paid by the mint master for the privilege of being awarded the minting contract. Because these profits relieved the state from the financial burdens associated with operating a mint, the citizens of Massachusetts Bay consented to accept the lightweight coinage at face value.

In 1642, Massachusetts had advanced the value of foreign coinage beyond its equivalent sterling value; then, a decade later, the Massachusetts Bay mint act simply took that disparity a step further.<sup>151</sup> Massachusetts money was judged to have an intrinsic value about 25% below sterling, thus while a Massachusetts shilling traded at 12d face value in Massachusetts Bay, elsewhere it traded by sterling weight, which meant a Massachusetts shilling was only valued at 9d. Essentially, Massachusetts willingly adopted a money of account that was rated at 25% below sterling. An item that sold for £4 in Massachusetts Bay would only be valued at £3 in England, where prices were in sterling.

In Lord Baltimore's Maryland, prices were denominated in Maryland money of account that was at par with sterling. In order for his coinage venture to be economically viable the colonists would need to accept a lower monetary standard, as had occurred in Massachusetts Bay. No specific reasons were included in the legislative record as to why the Maryland colonists did not do as Baltimore had requested and accept his coinage at face value "for all payments." However, unlike Massachusetts, there was no incentive for the colonists to accept a lower standard. The profits from the minting of underweight Baltimore coinage went to the Proprietary; therefore, there was no benefit to the colonist or the province from this venture, other than the fact that they would obtain some silver coinage. Because prices were at par with sterling, anyone accepting the reduced weight coinage at face value could sustain a loss, since there was no guarantee they could pass the coinage to another person at face value. Indeed, the only way the Proprietary could make a profit was at the expense of the colonists. Basically, he wanted the colonists to accept a coin with an intrinsic sterling value of about 9d as a 12d shilling, but the lower house of the General Assembly would not allow the governor and his council to include wording in the legislation requiring them

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<sup>150</sup> Crosby, p. 37, from the version passed in the House of Deputies.

<sup>151</sup> See Mossman, pp. 46-47 on the economic depression in Massachusetts in the early 1640s and the 1642 advance of coinage. Interestingly, the legislature had previously responded to the crisis by increasing the value of wampum by one-third during the General Court session of October 7, 1640.

to do this, so the law simply stated the Proprietary and his officials would accept the coinage at face value in payments owed to the government. Clearly, the Maryland Council hoped that by legislating the acceptance of the coinage at face value for taxes and fines, it would encourage the colonists to accept and trade the coinage at face value in daily exchanges.

Essentially, Baltimore silver was *fiat* money legislated to be accepted by the provincial government but with no concurrent requirement that it be accepted between individuals in daily exchanges. Indeed, it appears the Council miscalculated and that the colonists did not accept the coinage at face value. As we shall see in more detail below, in the 1671 Maryland legislation on the advancement of foreign coins, the value of Baltimore coins was “advanced” 25% so that they, along with Massachusetts silver, would pass at face value in Maryland. This legislation suggests that during the 1660s Baltimore silver traded between individuals in Maryland in the same manner as Massachusetts, Spanish American and other foreign coins, that is, at rates based on their sterling equivalency.

The documentation relating to the passage of the 1661 mint act is limited because no records from this session of the General Assembly survive from the lower house of the legislature. However, we have seen there are indications that there was some opposition to the mint. There were two votes against the mint act in the Council with comments indicating the opposition was based on the question whether the Proprietary actually had the right to mint coins. Further, the Council felt it necessary to include a long preamble explaining the benefits of coinage and a mint to the inhabitants of the colony. Additionally, we discover the legislation is silent on the use of the coinage between individuals, only mentioning the coinage will be accepted by the government in payment of debts. These facts suggest there were some colonists who needed to be convinced of the desirability of this act and that there was opposition to legislating the coinage as *fiat* money at face value in private transactions.

### **The 1662 act concerning payment for money and bullion**

The 1661 mint act was Baltimore’s first step toward introducing his silver into the colony. The legislation made the coinage current so that it could legally circulate and, additionally, provided penalties against counterfeiting. However, it did not address the problem of how the coinage was to be distributed and placed into circulation, a question that was to be solved the following year. During the legislative session of April 1-12, 1662, further action was taken regarding the mint and coinage. On Wednesday, April 2nd, the Maryland Council met to confirm the laws from the previous General Assembly, renew and revive expired laws, and propose new laws to be addressed in the present session. In that April 2nd meeting the 1661 “Acte concerning the Setting vp of a Mint” was confirmed and it was proposed a new act be addressed for the importation of “money and Bullione” into the province.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, pp. 427-29. Those present at this meeting were: Charles Calvert, Lieutenant General (that is, Governor); Philip Calvert, Deputy Lieutenant General and Chancellor (Lieutenant Governor); Henry Sewall, Secretary; Robert Clarke, Baker Brooke, Capt. James Neale and John Bateman. The minutes of the meeting regarding this issue were recorded as follows: “An Acte concerning the Setting vp of a Mint. Voted That the Leiuetennt Generall be desired to confirme that Acte in the Lord Proprietarys name and that the Lower howse be desired to joyne with this howse in an acte for the effectuall importacon of money and Bullione into this Province” (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 429).

In the Council meeting of Saturday, April 12, 1662, the last day of that legislative session, a bill regarding money and bullion was passed and sent to the lower house.<sup>153</sup> Once again, we have no records from the lower house but a copy of the final act is found in the *Journal of the Upper House* in the proceedings of the Maryland General Assembly, known as 1662, chapter 8, as follows:

An Acte Concerning paymt for money and Bullione brought into this Province  
Whereas it appeares that the Importacon of money and Bullione into this Province is of greate Concernm<sup>t</sup> for the Good of the Inhabitants here in severall respects for the better Effecting and procuracon thereof Be it Enacted by the Lord Proprietary by and with the Assent and approbacon of the Vpper and Lower howse of this p'sent Generall Assembly that after provision made for the same in this Province every Househoulder and Freeman in the Province shall take vp tenn shillings p[er] pole of money Currant in this Province according to the Acte for the Mint for every Taxable p'son vnder his or their charge or custody to be payd for in good casked tobacco att 2<sup>d</sup> p<sup>lb</sup> And all householders and Freeman as aforesaid are hereby obliged and Engaged to pay the said tobacco vpon tender of the said Sumes of money proporconably for every such psons respectiue family This Acte to endure for three yeares or to the End of the next Generall Assembly.

The Lower howse haue Assented  
Wm Bretton Clrk

The Vpper howse haue Assented  
John Gittings Clre<sup>154</sup>

Thus, on April 12, 1662, the required statutes had finally been enacted, allowing for the distribution of the Baltimore coinage that had been minted in the fall of 1659. The law stated that the head of each household was required to trade "good casked tobacco" at the rate of two pence per pound for ten shillings of Baltimore silver coinage for each taxpayer (i.e., each pole or voter) in their household. In effect, each taxpayer was required to trade sixty pounds of tobacco in exchange for 10s in Baltimore silver. It is significant to remember the colonists were exchanging 10s sterling value worth of tobacco (based on a fixed price of 2d per pound of tobacco) for 10s face value in Baltimore coinage, which had a silver content that was understood to be about 20 to 25% below sterling.<sup>155</sup> The act was to last for three years or until the completion of the next General Assembly.

We do not know specifically when the distribution of Baltimore silver took place, but clearly it occurred sometime between April 1662, when the act was passed, and October 1663 when the legislation became defunct. There is no surviving documentation regarding the distribution of the coins but there is some suggestive indirect evidence. The legislation required each taxable person to participate in the exchange of tobacco for silver. However, in the governor's council meeting of Friday, June 6, 1662, it was observed that the

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153 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, pp. 438-39. Those present at this meeting were: Charles Calvert, Lieutenant General (that is, Governor); Philip Calvert, Deputy Lieutenant General and Chancellor (Lieutenant Governor); Henry Sewall, Secretary; Robert Clarke, Baker Brooke, Capt. James Neale, Edward Lloyd and John Bateman. The minutes of the meeting regarding this issue were very short, stating only the following: "Then was read an Act concerning payment of Mony & Bullion brought into this Province. To which the house Assented & ordered it to be fair written & sent to the Lower House" *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 439.

154 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 1, p. 444, taken from the *Upper House Journal* (1659-69), p. 140; recorded in the British State Papers, Colonial Entry Book, see, *Calendar of State Papers, 1661-1668*, item 268 (law 5) on p. 84.

155 In 1659-63 the average price of tobacco was about 1.6d per pound, with some sales higher and others lower (see Menard, *Economy and Society*, p. 476). Thus, on average, the planter was receiving a better price than in the marketplace, but he was exchanging tobacco at sterling value for coins that contemporaries estimated were 20-25% below sterling value.

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Sheriffe or Other Officers appoynted to take the list of all taxable persons inhabiting or Abiding in thear [their] respectiue Counties haue not deliuered up a iust and trew [true] list of euery such taxable Persons or els [else] haue negligently performed the same & so late in the yeare that the Leuie [levy] without much difficultie cannot bee rayased and Payd...<sup>156</sup>

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Therefore, it was ordered that each sheriff make a list of all the taxable persons (called taxables or tithables) in his county by July 20th. Each completed county list was then to be publicly displayed at the county court sessions so the colonists could examine it for errors; then an emended and certified fair copy of the document was to be sent to the governor before September 1st.<sup>157</sup> Obviously, this request was made so the government would have lists to aid in assessing and collecting taxes but, that it was undertaken so soon after the passage of the payment for bullion act of April 12th, leads one to suspect the governor probably also intended to use the updated lists to facilitate the administration of the exchange of tobacco for Baltimore coinage. Indeed, rather than organize an exchange using the current lists, that were known to be deficient, it would seem more prudent for the governor to wait a few months and use the updated lists that were being prepared over the summer.

In Maryland the county courts were the local administrative arm of the provincial government. In addition to adjudicating misdemeanor criminal cases and civil cases where the value of the contested items did not exceed £20 sterling, the judges, or as they were called, commissioners, administered numerous civil affairs.<sup>158</sup> The commissioners authorized payments due to soldiers, surveyors, ferrymen and other local officials and individuals as well as paying the bounty of 100 pounds of tobacco for any wolf head brought to the court. The Commissioners were also responsible for setting the per person contribution for levy and poll tax rates in the county as well as granting any tax exemptions. Additionally, these officials issued licenses for inns and taverns, read proclamations, administered the oath of fidelity, conducted elections with the assistance of the sheriff, issued writs and basically acted as the representative of the governor in the county. Indeed, at times the governor or one of his councilors would preside at the court.<sup>159</sup>

In 1662, there were county courts in Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Calvert, Charles, Kent and Talbot counties, with the Talbot County Court newly established in that year. Unfortunately, the only county from which the court records survive for 1662 is Charles County, which held sessions on January 29, March 4, April 22, July 8-10, October 2, November 4-5 and December 16-18, 1662.<sup>160</sup> We find that during the session of July 8, 1662, the sheriff of Charles County was officially charged with producing a list of taxables as requested by the governor in an order dated June 7 (that was one day after the council approved the measure). We learn the process was completed by November because, at the Charles County Court session of November 4, 1662, it was announced that "an exact list of the tithabell persons beeing taken and perused is found to amount unto the number of three hundred and fiftie seaven" in Charles County and that the public levy (provincial tax) for the county was 15,780 pounds of tobacco, which the court calculated at 44 pounds per pole (although the exact per pole tax should have been just over 44.2 pounds).<sup>161</sup> Additionally, on that day, the annual payment vouchers were distributed for bounties on wolf heads and for salaries and

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<sup>156</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 53, p. 244.

<sup>157</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 3, pp. 456-57.

<sup>158</sup> There were six to ten commissioners appointed from the more prominent colonists residing in that county. There needed to be at least three or four commissioners present to hold a county court.

<sup>159</sup> For additional details see, *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 53, pp. xii-xvi.

<sup>160</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 53, pp. 183, 189, 201, 223, 231, 239, 257, 273, 279, 294, 296 and 307 for the opening of each session. Very brief records survive for Talbot county court sessions of April 25, June 25, October 25 and November 25, 1662 in *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 54, pp. 356-57.

<sup>161</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 53, p. 273.

other money owed to individuals. The total cost for these county expenses came to 9,215 pounds of tobacco, which the court divided by the 357 taxables to assign a county levy of 28 pounds of tobacco per pole (actually the levy should have been 25.8 pounds).<sup>162</sup>

As in any exchange, there were two parts in the tobacco for coins transaction, namely, the payment in tobacco by the taxable colonists to the government and the distribution of the coinage by the government to the taxable colonists. Since the 1662 tobacco crop would have been cured and ready for distribution sometime between November 1662 and February 1663, certainly most planters would have had at least part, if not all, of their 1662 crop ready by late December.<sup>163</sup> In Charles County, taxes would have been paid at some point after the promulgation of the amount due that had been announced during the county court session of November 4, through the end of the tobacco-packing season in late winter. Possibly the sixty pounds of tobacco due to the government from each taxable for the coin exchange was collected in conjunction with the annual provincial and county levies. As to the distribution of the silver coins, we know that seventy years later, in 1733, when each taxable was to be allotted 30s in bills from Maryland's first emission of paper currency (see figure 17), the legislation stated the exchange was to occur at the next session of the county court once the bills were ready for distribution.<sup>164</sup> The 1733 notes were issued to the County Court judges who distributed them during the court session while the County Clerk recorded the transactions and provided the Governor's Council with a book of receipts listing the

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<sup>162</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 53, pp. 273-75. Interestingly, the court overcharged on the county tax, giving the county some surplus, while at the same time slightly undercharging on the provincial tax, leaving the province with a small shortfall.

<sup>163</sup> Generally planters did not keep tobacco warehoused for long periods because it would rot. In the 1650s, Virginia planters understood that any crop harvested in the fall that was still on hand in March would wither because of the ensuing summer heat. Basically, once the tobacco was cured and packed a planter would pay off his debts from the past year then sell the remaining tobacco to a merchant before the product decayed and lost its value. In 1671, during a period of depressed tobacco prices, legislation was passed forbidding the court from executing judgments for debt against inhabitants of the province between April 10 and October 10 because "...is not Possible for them to Procure Tobacco for paymt and Satisfaccon of their Creditor by meanes whereof they are oft Times kept in Prison a long Time and thereby disabled from Tending or making their Cropps" (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, pp. 289-90).

Over the decades, curing and packing techniques became more advanced and the size of the annual harvest increased, so that in Maryland, by 1727, shipments of tobacco were allowed to be exported through the end of the following May, or about six to seven months after harvesting. A major reason planters delayed in clearing their warehouses of cured tobacco was because they were unable to obtain enough hogsheads from the coopers. Because several planters had sustained damage to some tobacco due to tardy barrel deliveries, the Maryland legislature passed a law in 1671, requiring coopers to complete half of a planter's order for hogsheads by October 10th while the rest of the order had to be completed by December 10th (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, pp. 288-89). Other factors influencing the shipment date included the harvest date, as well as the time required for curing, the size of the crop, the available labor as well as the weather, for cured tobacco was so brittle that it could only be packed during periods of high humidity. Because of these factors, planters used credit through most of the year with their annual tobacco payments falling due during the winter; in later years, as storage techniques improved, the payment period was later extended through the spring. See Main, pp. 32-37 and, for additional details on the storage and use of tobacco in eighteenth century Maryland and Gould, pp. 48-73 especially, pp. 54-60. Also mentioned the Maryland tobacco crop was harvested in mid-September but was not ready for shipment until November or December. During that time the tobacco was processed for market. A colonial era account describing the process is found in Oldmixon, vol. 1, 1741, pp. 442-43, who stated "As fast as the Plants ripen you must cut them down, leave them in the Field for half a Day, then heap them up, let them lie and sweat a Night, and the next Day carry them to the Tobacco-house, where every Plant is hanged one by another, at a convenient Distance, for about a Month or five Weeks; at the End of which time they strike or take them down in moist Weather, when the Leaf gives, or else 'twill crumble to Dust; after which they are laid upon Sticks, and cover'd up close in the Tobacco-house for a Week or a Fortnight to sweat, and then opening the Bulk in a wet Day, the Servants strip them and sort them, the top Leaves being the best, and the bottom the worst Tobacco. The last Work is to pack it in Hogsheads, or bundle it up, which is also done in a wet Season; for in the curing Tobacco, wet Seasons are as necessary as dry, to make the leaf pliant, which would otherwise be brittle and break."

<sup>164</sup> Gould, p. 84 and *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 39, p. 97.

recipients and thus verifying that the notes had been distributed (see appendix 10). It is possible a similar method was used to distribute Baltimore silver in 1662. Although there are no surviving records regarding the distribution, the most effective method of issuing the coinage would have been to use the county courts, as was done for other payments that were due to individuals residing in the county. If this were the case and we suppose the distribution was conducted during the same time period as when the payment was collected, then it is possible the coins, or at least vouchers for the coins, were distributed in conjunction with sessions of the various county courts held between November 1662 and probably March 1663.<sup>165</sup> In any event, the distribution certainly occurred before the statute expired in October of 1663.

The legislation of April 1662, on payment for money and bullion, required each taxable to exchange sixty pounds of tobacco for 10s in Baltimore silver. Crosby quoted Sebastian Streeter as estimating that there were "at least" 5,000 taxable individuals in the province of Maryland and then extrapolated that if the law had been "carried fully into effect" £2,500 worth of Baltimore silver would have been put into circulation.<sup>166</sup> Breen increased that number to "at least 5,500 persons" and went on to speculate that the emission put "over £2,750 sterling into circulation. Implied ballpark figures: 20,000 or more Shillings, 35,000 or more Sixpence, and 52,800 or more Groats."<sup>167</sup> Unfortunately, the numbers in Crosby and Breen appear to be estimates or guesses, with no explanation or documentation on the sources used to arrive at those figures.<sup>168</sup> Indeed, more recent estimates suggest the entire population of Maryland was only about 4,000 by the end of the 1660s!<sup>169</sup> In his 1975 dissertation on the economy of early colonial Maryland, Russell Menard examined all the surviving records regarding the number of taxables for each year and constructed a table of the available information. Unfortunately, the records are lost for most of the years in the period under consideration. Menard was able to verify figures for only two years in the time period of the emission of Baltimore coinage; there were 1,144 taxables in 1657 and 2,873 in 1663, with the only record for the intervening years documenting the 357 taxables in Charles County in 1662.<sup>170</sup>

Rather than estimate an unknown number of taxables for 1662 it is better to use the documented number of taxables from 1663. Realizing that Maryland's population was growing each year, we

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165 If individuals received vouchers it is possible they may have needed to travel to St. Mary's to exchange the voucher for coins. Alternatively, possibly the sheriff may have been able to cash the vouchers or maybe the coins were distributed when the tobacco payment was picked up.

166 Crosby, p. 128.

167 Breen, *Encyclopedia*, p. 18.

168 Possibly these figures were estimates extrapolated from information in contemporary histories. Colonial era writers frequently reported imprecise statistical information on populations that was uncritically accepted before the sophisticated demographic studies of the late twentieth century (they are discussed in McCusker and Menard, 1991, pp. 211-35). For instance, in his history published in 1708, Oldmixon estimated the population of Maryland at 30,000 (undoubtedly basing his number on Governor Blackiston's estimate of 32,258 for 1701). However, Oldmixon then suggested thirty years earlier (i.e. the late 1670s) the population had been about 16,000; see Oldmixon, vol. 1, 1708, p. 203 and in the more accessible second revised edition of 1741, p. 341. Recent demographic studies have shown Oldmixon's estimate for the period during which he was writing were, indeed, accurate; however, his estimate of the population thirty years earlier is now considered far too high as is evident from the figures in the following footnote. By extrapolating backwards from a population of 30,000 in ca. 1700 and erroneously assuming a fairly steady growth rate, many individuals have significantly overestimated the population from earlier decades. For example, see the numbers in the preface to the Charles County Court records, *Archives of Maryland*, vol., 53, pp. lvii-lviii.

169 McCusker and Menard, 1991, p. 136 charts the entire population of Maryland growing from about 700 by the end of the 1650s to 4,000 by the end of the 1660s and then to 11,400 by the end of the 1670s. See footnote 27 above.

170 Menard, *Economy and Society*, p. 456, table A-2, see pp. 455-64.

can safely assume the number of taxables in 1662 would be somewhat fewer than in 1663.<sup>171</sup> Since the payment for bullion legislation became defunct in the fall of 1663, it is clear that the coinage distribution was based on the 1662 list of taxables. However, we run into problems even when using Menard's more reliable figure. We simply do not know if the act was fully carried out; that is, we do not know if every taxable individual participated since it is possible some may have been granted an exemption. If we use the verified 1663 taxables and assume full participation we arrive at a total of £1,436 10s, in Baltimore silver emitted into the province, a figure that is probably too high but is substantially lower than earlier estimates. Needless to say, the values given by Breen as to the quantity of each denomination put into circulation are completely speculative. As we shall see below, from information on Maryland in contemporary printed sources and in the 1671 act on the advancement of foreign coins, we can verify that Baltimore coinage was, in fact, introduced into the colony, however, it is likely the emission was far smaller than previously thought.

The payment for bullion act was only in force for a year-and-a-half because the statute stated it was "to endure for three yeares or to the End of the next Generall Assembly." The next General Assembly, held from September 15 – October 3, 1663, was completely silent on the legislation.<sup>172</sup> Indeed, in this era, several acts were allowed to simply expire without further consideration. During the General Assembly of April 13-May 8, 1669, action was taken to rectify this situation when, during a meeting of the upper house on Wednesday, May 5, 1669, the following question was put forward:

The Upper House desires to know why the Lower House have not revived these following Acts. The Act for the killing of Wolves. The Act prohibiting Ground Leafs and Seconds. The Act concerning payment for Bullion brought into this Province. The Act for Encouragement of sowing English Grain... [several other laws were also mentioned].<sup>173</sup>

In response to this question the Assembly reviewed all the laws and passed a rather lengthy act entitled "An Act for Repeale of certain lawes and alsoe for ascertaining what Lawes are in force within this Province." In the modern printed edition of the *Archives of Maryland* this legislation is a ten-page listing of laws.<sup>174</sup> It includes a four-page list of laws to be "absolutely Repealed & for ever after to be void & of none Effect" that included "An Act Concerning payment for bullion brought in this Prouince An<sup>o</sup> 62."<sup>175</sup> A second list followed, containing the laws "Ratified and Confirmed to stand in full force and vertue till his Lordshipp by and with the advice & Consent of the Upper and lower houses of this or any future Assemblies shall think fitt to alter amend revoke or Repeale the same or any one or more of them" and among these is found "An Act Concerning the setting upp of a mint An<sup>o</sup> 61."<sup>176</sup> The mint act, that was considered beneficial to the province, was ratified and confirmed, while the statute concerning payment for money and bullion was repealed. It seems the colonists wanted a mint in Maryland but they did not want to be required to accept Baltimore silver.

171 For example, the next year for which we have complete data is 1667, when there were 4,100 taxables and then 1671, when the number rose to 5,631 taxables.

172 The Maryland General Assembly met once every three years, but when required they met more frequently, hence the wording in many acts that they were "to endure for three yeares or to the End of the next Generall Assembly." During this era the General Assembly sessions were: October 20, 1654; September 24, 1657; April 27, 1658; February 28 – March 14, 1659/60; April 17 – May 2, 1661; April 1 – 12, 1662; September 15 – October 3, 1663; September 13 – 21, 1664; April 10 – May 3, 1666; April 13 – May 8, 1669 and March 27 – April 19, 1671.

173 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, pp. 190-91.

174 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, pp. 542-51.

175 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, pp. 544-47 with the bullion law mentioned on p. 544.

176 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, pp. 548-50 with the mint act mentioned on p. 549 and the "ratified" quote on p. 550.



Neither Lord Baltimore nor the colonists gained an advantage from the payment for bullion act. The colonists lost some purchasing power through the exchange of tobacco for coins, while Baltimore seems to have ended up losing money in the venture. The payment for money and bullion statute legislated the price of tobacco at 2d per pound for the coin exchange. This was the sterling value at which tobacco was priced in legal proceeding, as in the Eltonhead case of April 1658, discussed below, and had been the average market price of tobacco for several years. Indeed, between 1646 and 1658 the price was usually above 2d, with average prices at: 2.2d (1646), 2d (1647), 1.5d (1648), 3d (1649), 2.6d (1653), 2.8d (1654), 2d (1655), 2.5d (1656), 2d (1657) and 2.1d (1658).<sup>177</sup> Unfortunately for Lord Baltimore, in 1659 the price of tobacco fell to 1.65d per pound and then to 1.5d in 1660 and 1661. After so many years at 2d or above per pound, the drop was thought to be temporary and so the upper house agreed to allow the 1662 statute to use the 2d per pound price, clearly a concession that made the lower house more amenable to the legislation. The actual cost of the exchange could not be known until after the 1662 tobacco crop had been harvested and sold. When the 1662 crop went to market the average price of a pound of tobacco was 1.6d. Thus, planters did not lose as much in the exchange as they might have, if the price of tobacco had been higher. We shall see that Baltimore silver, like Massachusetts silver, traded at a 25% discount from sterling, thus, the 120d (10s) in Baltimore coinage received by each taxable planter was valued at 90d (7s6d) sterling, when exchanged in the market. The 60 pounds of tobacco that was traded for the coins, sold on average for 1.6d per pound or about 96d (8s) sterling. Considering the market price, a planter typically sustained an overall loss in sterling value of 6d or slightly more than 6%. However, Lord Baltimore had promised to accept the coins at face value in payment of duties and other taxes. When the coins were used in this manner, the planter actually made a 20% profit, because he had traded what turned out to be 96d (8s) in sterling value worth of tobacco and received coins that could be used to pay 120d (10s) in levies.

Of course, this situation also meant Baltimore did not get the return he had anticipated. We have seen Lord Baltimore's coinage averaged about 20% below the English weight per pound of sterling minted, thus, on average, a shilling had an actual intrinsic value of 9.6d or 96d for 10s in coins. Baltimore had expended 96d (8s) on sterling silver to produce coins with a face value of 120d (10s), for which he expected to receive 60 pounds of tobacco with a market value of 120d (10s) sterling, thus he anticipated a return of 20% or 24d (2s) above intrinsic value for each 10s transaction, excluding minting costs. This return could be higher if the price of tobacco rose above 2d per pound. However, instead, because of the depressed tobacco price of 1.6d per pound, he only received, on average, 96d (8s) sterling for each 60 pounds of tobacco. At a 20% reduction from the English weight standard, the average intrinsic value of the sterling in 10s of Baltimore coins would equal exactly the same amount as the farm value of 60 pounds of tobacco, netting Baltimore no additional return at all! If the average reduction was less than 20% Baltimore would have sustained a loss and if the reduction was slightly more than 20% he may have made a small gain. However, it is clear that Baltimore ended up losing money when one factors in the costs related to minting and transporting the coins. Further, Baltimore lost even more revenue from this venture, since he was obligated to accept the coins at face value in payment of duties! What looked like a guaranteed 20% profit in 1659 that would attract several investors, if only the colonists would accept the coins, turned into a financial drain. When Baltimore consented to the act concerning payment for money and bullion, he had not anticipated the continued poor performance of tobacco. Both the Proprietary and the colonists ended up losing, clearly, neither Lord Baltimore nor the planters had any desire to renew the "Act Concerning Payment for Money and Bullion brought into this Province."

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<sup>177</sup> Menard, *Economy and Society*, p. 475, there are no data for 1650-52. Also see his preliminary article, with a good explanation of how the prices were derived (Menard, "Farm Prices," which includes a list of tobacco prices from 1659 through 1710 on p. 85).

From evidence discussed below, we shall see it seems probable Lord Baltimore did introduce into circulation whatever silver he had minted in 1659. However, he then let the project drop since the enterprise was unprofitable and, obviously, did not attract investors. It seems within a short time Baltimore silver was no longer being brought into the colony to be exchanged for tobacco because the April 1662 payment for coinage and bullion act was not renewed at the next General Assembly in October 1663, having been in force for only 18 months before it was invalidated. Then, during the legislative house cleaning of 1669, the act was voided along many other expired laws.

### Indirect evidence for the circulation of Baltimore coinage

Just a few years after the bullion act was voided we find some information on Baltimore coinage in a description of the New World by John Ogilby published in 1671 under the title, *America: Being the Latest, and Most Accurate Description of the New World*. Joseph Sabin called the work "an imprudent plagiarism" of Arnoldus Montanus, *De Nieuwe en onbekende weereld: of beschryving van American en 't zuid-land*.<sup>178</sup> Montanus was granted a copyright privilege in 1670 but his work did not appear until 1671 and Ogilby's work is basically an English translation with several changes and additions in the text. Most notably, the map and the description of Maryland in Ogilby include Cecil County.<sup>179</sup> Quite likely Ogilby obtained this information directly from Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, since the county was not established until 1674. Although much of the text is based on Montanus, the section on Maryland contains very current information probably derived directly from the Lord Proprietary, who, like Ogilby, lived in London.<sup>180</sup> In his 1671 text Ogilby stated,

But the general Trade of *Mary-land* at present depends chiefly upon Tobacco, it being the Planters greatest concern and study to store himself betimes with that Commodity, wherewith he buys and sells, and after which Standard all other Commodities receive their Price there; they have of late vented such quantities of that and other Commodities, that a hundred Sail of Ships from *England*, *Barbadoes*, and other *English* Plantations, have been usually known to Trade thither in one Year; insomuch that by Custom and Excize paid in *England* for Tobacco and other Commodities Imported from thence, *Mary-land* alone this present, hath by his Lordships vast Expence, Industry, and Hazard for many years, without any charge to the Crown, improv'd His Majesties, the King of *Englands* Revenues, to the value of Forty thousand Pounds *Sterl. per annum* at least.

The general way of Traffick and Commerce there is chiefly by Barter, or Exchange of one Commodity for another; yet there wants not, besides *English* and other foreign Coyns, some of his Lordships own Coyn, as Groats, Sixpences, and Shillings, which his Lordship at his own Charge caus'd to be Coyn'd and dispers'd throughout that Province; 'tis equal in fineness of Silver to *English Sterling*, being of the same Standard, but of somewhat less weight, and hath on the one side his Lordships Coat of Arms stamp'd, with this Motto circumscrib'd, *Crescite & Multiplicamini*,

178 Sabin, vol. 12, p. 305, item 50,089.

179 Ogilby, *America*, 1671, chapter 2, section 3, with a foldout map of Maryland between pp. 182 and 183. The text mentions the new county on p. 189; "The Province is divided at present, so far as it is inhabited by *English*, into Counties, whereof there be ten, viz. *St Maries*, *Charles*, *Calvert*, *Anne Arandel*, and *Baltimore* Counties, which first five lie on the West side of the Bay of *Chesapeak*; on the Eastern side whereof, commonly call'd *The Eastern-Shore*, lies *Sommerset*, *Dorchester*, *Talbot*, *Cecil*, and *Kent Counties*, which last is an Island lying near the Eastern-shore of the said Bay."

180 Each section of Ogilby's work is titled with the name of the colony, such as on p. 192 where it simply states "Virginia." However, the discussion on Maryland is the only section that has an extended title beginning on p. 183 with "A New Description of Mary-Land." The Maryland section also includes some personal information about Lord Baltimore suggesting Ogilby interviewed his lordship. For instance, on p. 184 he mentioned that Lord Baltimore "...was Christen'd by the Name of *Caecil*, but afterwards confirm'd by the name of *Caecilius*." Also, note the self-serving comments, as found in the quote given here where Ogilby stated "...by his Lordships vast Expence, Industry, and Hazard for many years, without any charge to the Crown, improv'd His Majesties, the King of *Englands* Revenues, to the value of Forty thousand Pounds *Sterl. per annum* at least."

and on the other side his Lordships Effigies, circumscrib'd thus, *Caecilius Dominus Terrae-Mariae, &c.*<sup>181</sup>

Thus, according to Ogilby, Baltimore coinage had been distributed in the province. Further, he suggests Baltimore coinage was still circulating in Maryland along with some English and foreign coinage (most likely Spanish American cobs and some Dutch and French silver), at the time he was writing, that is, ca. 1670, or about eight years after the passage of the payment for money and bullion act of 1662. However, it is clear the total amount of coinage in circulation was fairly small, since Ogilby states that most commerce was conducted by barter or exchange of commodities. Indeed, tobacco was still the leading crop and from local accounts we know prices continued to be stated in terms of pounds of tobacco.

Other authors, who may not have tried to verify their sources, used the information included in Ogilby. An abbreviated version of this information appears in a similar work by Richard Blome, published in 1672. He stated,

...But the general trade of *Maryland* depends chiefly upon *Tobacco*, which being esteemed better in a Forreign Market than that of *Virginia*; finds great Vent abroad, and the *Planters* at home; in exchange thereof, are furnished by the *Merchant* with all necessaries, for himself, his *House*, *Family*, and *Plantation*.

There is a Competent stock of ready money in this *Province* both of English, Foreign, and his Lordships own *Coyne*, yet their chief way of *Commerce* is by way of barter, or exchange of *Commodities*, which may be judged to be no ways inconsiderable, since 100 sail of *Ships* from *England*, and the English *Plantations*, have of late Yeares been known to trade thither in one Year.<sup>182</sup>

We also find this information in a revised and updated edition of John Speed's, *The Theatre of the Empire*, originally published in 1612. This work is an atlas of maps with a few pages of geographic description accompanying each map. Speed died in 1629, but anonymous editors continued to publish versions of his work through the third quarter of the century. In an updated edition of Speed's text printed in 1676 for the booksellers Thomas Basset and Richard Chiswel, we find in the discussion of Maryland, the following:

Vast quantities of Tobacco, the grand Trade of this Province of *Mary-Land* are yearly vended from hence, not only in *England*, but likewise in several of the other *English* Plantations: besides the importation also of some other commodities, to the great improvement of his Majesties revenue by Custom and Excise. The common way of traffik here is by barter or trucking of commodities one for another; though money is not altogether wanting, as well of the coin of *England* and other parts, as of his Lordships own Coin being stampd on the one side with his Lordships Coat of Arms, with this circumscription, *Crescite & Multiplicamini*; and on the other side with his Effigies, and this circumscription, *Caecilius Dominus Terrae Mariae, &c.*<sup>183</sup>

These derivative texts do not add any new facts, but they do help to confirm the validity of the information in Ogilby. If the information had been in error, it is quite likely someone connected with the colony would have called Ogilby on the point. That other authors repeated the information, and that it was incorporated into the update of Speed's well-known geography, indicates the information was considered to be reliable. It seems sometime after the passage of the April 1662

181 Ogilby, *America*, 1671, chapter 2, section 3, p. 188.

182 Blome, *A Description*, 1672, p. 161.

183 Speed, *Epitome*, 1676, p. 217.

payment for money and bullion act, Baltimore coinage was emitted into the province and that it may have continued in use, along with other silver coinage, through the early 1670s and possibly longer.

Additionally, in these literary accounts from the 1670s we see that Ogilby mentions most commerce was by barter, that is, trading one product for another product or for tobacco, but that there were some English and foreign coins as well as some Baltimore coinage. Bloom incorrectly surmised there was a "Competent stock" of coinage from Ogilby's statement,<sup>184</sup> while the update of Speed's work was a more accurate restatement of Ogilby, explaining barter predominated but "money is not altogether wanting." Although there was some coinage in the province, we find that records from Maryland in the years following the emission of the Baltimore coinage continue to mention hardships the province had to endure due to a lack of ready money.

### The quantity of coinage in Maryland during the 1660s

In the year before Baltimore produced his coinage, there was a case before the Provincial Court of Maryland on Thursday, April 28, 1658, mentioning the lack of hard currency in the province. In this case Edward Eltonhead produced a bond showing his deceased relative, William Eltonhead, owed him £53 10s sterling.<sup>185</sup> Based on the judge's comments, it appears Edward requested the debt be paid in silver coinage. The judge ordered William's wife, the administratrix of his estate, to make an inventory of her late husband's possessions, have them valued and then satisfy the bond. However, the justice specifically stated in his opinion that "because all money debts are payd w<sup>th</sup> Tobacco in this Country," the plaintiff, Edward Eltonhead, was required to accept tobacco picked and culled without seconds or overgrow leaves at the rate of 2d sterling per pound of tobacco.<sup>186</sup>

We have already discussed George Alsop's comments from 1666 about the scarcity of coinage where he stated "Tobacco is the currant Coyn of *Mary-Land*, and will sooner purchase Commodities from the Merchant, then money."<sup>187</sup> Further, we continue to find similar references in the following years. During the General Assembly of April 13 – May 8, 1669, the lower house presented a list of grievances to the upper house. One of the complaints was that county sheriffs were seizing tobacco from individuals. In response to that specific point, the upper house or Council, replied that "there being so little ready money in the Province" the sheriffs had to take tobacco from individuals with outstanding debts since that is all they had to pay with.<sup>188</sup>

A fuller explanation of the problem was recorded in that same 1669 General Assembly in legislation regarding the payment of money debts with tobacco. The act explained that colonists frequently were forced to contract to pay merchants and importers for needed supplies with hard money, that is, silver or gold coinage, but due to the scarcity of hard money it was impossible for the debtors to actually make the payments with coin, so the new law required creditors to accept

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184 Bloom also was mistaken in assuming Maryland tobacco was preferred over Virginia tobacco.

185 See footnote 78 above, on the execution of William Eltonhead.

186 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 41, p. 78. The text reads; "...because all money debts are payd w<sup>th</sup> Tobacco in this Country, It is Ordered likewise That the plf take Tobacco pickd & culld without seconds & grownd leaues att Two pence Sterl pe pownd."

187 Alsop, pp. 49-53; Hall, pp. 363-64 and see above at footnote 51.

188 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, p. 176.

tobacco at the rate of 1.5d sterling per pound of tobacco (the complete text is included below as Appendix 3).<sup>189</sup>

In the *Proceeding and Act of the General Assembly of Maryland* of March 27 – April 19, 1671, we find further statements on the scarcity of coinage. In an act concerning fees paid to the coroner it was explained that the coroner's fee schedule had been copied from the statutes of England, therefore the fees did not correspond to the expense required to do that same work in the colonies. The legislation further noted that "the ffees by the statutes being in mony which it is not possible att all times to be held or Rec<sup>d</sup> in this Province..." meant the fees had to be restructured, and accordingly the charge for each specific duty was recalculated and then denominated in pounds of tobacco.<sup>190</sup> In this same legislative session a statute regulating the prices of wine, liquor and other commodities explained that innkeepers had previously allowed individuals credit for food and lodging and that the debts were later paid in tobacco at rates regulated by the government. However, lately the innkeepers had been refusing to give credit and were only selling items for ready money because there was no law regulating prices paid in ready money nor was there any legislated rate at which foreign coins were to be traded. The act went on to set prices in Maryland money of account (shillings) and then explained "as mony att p'sent is verry scarce and hard to come by within this Province..." satisfaction for such debts could be made "Either in Tobacco or in Ready moneys" at the will and discretion of the customer (complete text included below as Appendix 5).<sup>191</sup>

From these scattered comments on coinage we can surmise that the supply of coinage was quite small through the 1650s with most payments being in commodities, primarily tobacco. Then, in the 1660s, there was a slightly greater supply of hard money available. The printed sources mention Baltimore coinage as well as some English and foreign silver circulating in the province. Various statutes begin to mention that some individuals tried to require payments in hard currency and, obviously, this demand would not have been made unless there actually was a possibility of payment in coinage. Innkeepers realized tobacco credit rates were fixed by law and, when that was the only possible method of payment, it was accepted. Now that some coinage was available, they hoped to charge higher prices, since both prices in money and the value at which specific foreign coins were traded had not been regulated. The government quickly stepped in regulating prices in Maryland money of account and rating foreign coinage as well as continuing to explain that money was still very scarce and could not be the standard of commerce.<sup>192</sup> Indeed, larger purchases were made using tobacco and the new statutes required merchants and innkeepers to continue accepting tobacco for all small purchases. Hard money was so scarce that the province did not even have the wherewithal to pay the coroner in silver for his duties.

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189 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, 220-21. The text can be found below in Appendix 3. This was a boon to planters, who had been experiencing a long slump with low market prices for tobacco. Farm prices hit a low of 0.9d in 1666 and by 1669 they were at 1d per pound. The 1.5d rate certainly favored debtor planters over their creditors. For the average tobacco prices see Menard, *Economy and Society*, p. 476. The tobacco payment law was invalidated in 1671 when it was not renewed; the act was finally repealed when the laws were updated during the General Assembly of May-June 1676, see *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, p. 546.

190 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, p. 292-94; repealed May-June 1676, see, *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, p. 547.

191 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, pp. 295-97 with quote on 297; repealed May-June 1676, *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, p. 547.

192 The statute noted that the valuations were "...not intended by this act to be mony Sterling but Such Coynes and Soe Advanced as by an Act made this present Genll Assembly...an Act for the Advancement of fforeign Coynes within this Province." This advancement, which is discussed below, meant Maryland money of account was no longer at par with sterling.

### The 1671 advancement of foreign coins

An act on the advancement of foreign coins was passed in the Maryland General Assembly of March 27 – April 19, 1671, that sheds some light on the coins circulating in Maryland during that era (complete text is included below as Appendix 4). The legislation began by explaining the reasons the colony needed an influx of coinage. The preamble stated that tobacco was the only commodity of the province and, unfortunately, the price of tobacco was so low that the economy could not grow without a supply of ready money. Without the conveniences of money “Manufacturers handicrafts or Tradesmen” could not subsist. Precisely what this meant was not explained.

We now understand that when the demand for colonial tobacco increased, prices for the product rose which, in turn, stimulated the Chesapeake economy to increase production. More settlers arrived and additional land was brought under cultivation. Once the supply of tobacco exceeded demand, prices for tobacco dropped and the economy fell into a depression. Several farmers went out of business and production declined. Of course, once production was reduced to the point that demand exceeded supply, prices began to rise again. Basically, tobacco produced an economy with a cycle of depressions and booms. According to Menard, the Maryland economy declined in the early 1670s then rose to a high in 1678 and then experienced a long depression from 1680-1713, with brief reprieves in the mid-1680s and around 1700. During the periods of depression the province tried to divert labor away from tobacco production, operating on the theory that low tobacco prices and expensive imported products presented an opportunity for some planters to abandon farming and take up manufacture and trade, producing clothes, tools and other required items.<sup>193</sup>

Due to low tobacco prices, Maryland was in a depression in 1671 and the General Assembly believed an influx of hard currency would facilitate the establishment of domestic industry as defined in the preamble of the advancement act, where it was stated that a supply of ready money was needed to foster handicrafts and trade. The statute went on to explain that additional coinage would benefit all colonists, not just manufacturers and tradesmen, for it would facilitate daily exchanges for small purchases, or as the act stated, the law would be instituted “...for the Ease Benefitt and Advantage of other the Inhabitants of this Province in dealing Trafficking or Trading for inconsiderable Parcells of goods for which payment cannot Soe well be made in Tobacco.”<sup>194</sup> For these reasons the province of Maryland increased the value of silver coinage by “the Sume of Three pence proportionable in Every shilling or Twelve pence.” That is, coinage would be advanced to 25% over sterling value. Thus, a coin with an intrinsic sterling value of 54d was advanced to 72d, the 18d increase representing a valuation that is 25% above the sterling content of the coin (see footnote 281 below for the relationship of English one-third increase and the American one-quarter advance). By advancing coin values the legislature hoped they could induce people to bring money into Maryland and that the increased valuation would also keep coinage that was currently in the province from being exported.

The law specified that Baltimore shillings as well as Massachusetts shillings would pass for 12d sterling. The act explained:

That Every shilling of his Lordshipps the Lord Proprietary shal be deemed to pass for Twelve pence sterling and Every six penny peece for Six pence sterling Every New England shilling for Twelve pence sterling And Every New England Six penny peece for Six pence sterling And either of the Said Coynes in Lesser or greater Peecees to be advanced the Sume of Three pence

<sup>193</sup> Menard, *Economy and Society*, pp. 285-90 and 302-10.

<sup>194</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, p. 286.

proportionable in Every shilling or Twelve pence according to the Rates they pass or goe for in the Kingdom of England.<sup>195</sup>

This statement not only proves Baltimore coinage was circulating in Maryland in 1671, it also implies that before the 1671 statute was enacted, the coins were rated like foreign coins, that is, by their sterling value. The statute stated the coins would now be advanced by 25% (that is, “advanced the Sume of Three pence proportionable in Every shilling or Twelve pence”) so that they traded at face value. Thus, up to this time it seems Lord Baltimore coins had circulated between individuals at three-quarters face value, or 9d per shilling. This was because in pre-1671 Maryland sums were denominated in pounds of tobacco or in Maryland money of account that was at par with sterling. Both Massachusetts and Baltimore coinages were known to be underweight and were considered to have an intrinsic value that was reduced by somewhat over 20%, the precise value of the reduction was not known, and it certainly was not uniform from one coin to another. Massachusetts silver probably averaged about 23% underweight when one added the mint wastage allowance to the legislated weight. We know that Massachusetts coins were estimated at a 25% reduction and traded in England at a 25% discounted rate, thus when values were denominated in sterling, or at par with sterling, full weight Massachusetts silver was accepted at only three-quarters of face value.<sup>196</sup> Based on the explanation in the 1671 act, it appears that from the time Lord Baltimore’s silver was first distributed in 1662 and up to the implementation of the 1671 advancement legislation, Baltimore coinage traded in Maryland and in England at the same rate as Massachusetts silver, that is, at three-quarters of its face value.

The act went on to explain the *écu* of France, the Spanish American eight *reales* and the Dutch and German *rix* dollars would pass at 72d (6s). All of these coins were equivalent to about 420 grains of sterling, and had previously been valued at 54d. The act also explained the Ducatoon of Flanders (the silver rider) was to be advanced to 90d (7s6d); previously this coin, equal to about

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195 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, pp. 286-87.

196 Massachusetts silver was legislated at a 22.5% weight reduction. On the legislated reduction, the wastage allowance given to Hull and the 25% differential in trade outside of Massachusetts Bay; see L. Jordan, pp. 56-73. Interestingly, although Baltimore and Massachusetts Bay silver, like foreign coins, were valued based on their sterling content, it seems through much of the seventeenth century the coins usually traded by the piece or tale in Maryland rather than by weight. Coinage transactions were rare in Maryland therefore few people had coin scales or weights. Indeed, as late as 1692, there were still significant problems with basic standard weights and measures for general merchandise, as addressed in the General Assembly of May 10-June 9, 1692, in legislation passed on June 4th (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 13, pp. 491-93). Also see p. 137 of that volume for an earlier law of October 26, 1686, stating that in port towns steelyard balances were to be replaced with “substantiall scales & lawfull weights weighing vpwards of Seven Hundred pownds weight wth three moueable posts to be carried from place to place in the Towne...”. The Maryland legislation of 1708 setting the rates for foreign coins expressly stated that the inhabitants of the province were not “at present provided with weights and Scales” suggesting coin scales were scarce at that time. Since several valuations in the legislation were based on weight it appears that scales became more common in the decades after the statute was enacted. Gould has explained that as the quantity of coinage increased during the first few decades of the eighteenth century, the problems related to clipping and receiving lightweight coins increased, leading to the widespread adoption of money scales. In 1729 laws against clipping coins were rescinded because of the need to clip silver coins for small change. Gould stated that from 1729 and throughout the remainder of the colonial period, money scales were regularly included in Maryland estate inventories; see, Gould, pp. 26-27. It is difficult to determine precisely when coin scales came into general use in Maryland. Possible the “one paire of brass scales & weights” [valued at 30 pounds of tobacco] listed in the estate inventory of Joseph Tilley, dated October 20, 1683, refers to a coin scale (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 70, pp. 462-63); another is listed in the inventory of William Coulburne of Somerset County dated May 29, 1690, “1 pare of brass Scales & weights at five Shillings” (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 405, pp. 45-47, with the scales listed on p. 46). If this is so, then the decades, ca. 1680-ca. 1710, may represent the period when coin scales first came into use in Maryland, a time when most silver and gold coin exchanges were by tale. The following two decades, ca. 1710-ca. 1730, were a time of transition at the end of which daily coin exchanges were typically transacted by weight.

501 grains of sterling, had been valued at 66d.<sup>197</sup> The legislation also stated all other foreign gold and silver coinage would be advanced by 3d per every 12d in value, based on the rates at which they passed in England.

The statute specifically excluded English coinage from being advanced above face value, because that would contradict English law.<sup>198</sup> The legislation also excluded from the advancement any debased Spanish American cobs from Potosí, known as Peruvians, that were unpopular since, due to their inconsistent and substandard level of fineness, they could not be reliably traded by weight. Also banned from the increase were all "Copper or base money" which, at that time, were various copper, tin and lead tokens and jettons, English patent coins and sundry foreign small change.<sup>199</sup> Regal copper halfpence and farthings were not considered since they were not minted until 1672, a year after this legislation. The law did not outlaw any coins, it simply did not encourage the importation of debased Peruvian cobs, coppers or base metal coins and consequently did not advance their values.

The legislation also stated that any foreign money being exported out of Maryland would be seized with half the proceeds going to the informer and the other half to Lord Baltimore. Further, the act explained that the duties due to Lord Baltimore, at the rate of 2s per hogshead of tobacco,<sup>200</sup> would be paid in English sterling coinage or in foreign coinage at the sterling exchange rate, which consequently meant the colonists could not take advantage of the advanced valuations when paying Lord Baltimore.<sup>201</sup> A Spanish eight *reales* would trade locally at 72d (6s), but when paying

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197 See Mossman, p. 65 on the *ducatoon* and *rijksdaalder*. Possibly the *rix* dollars also included the cross dollar and the *patagon* discussed in Mossman on p. 67; for the *écu* see Mossman, p. 70 and for the eight *reales*, pp. 54-63.

198 Maryland legislation only authorized the advancement of foreign coinage, not English coinage; this was also the case in the subsequent advancement acts of 1686 and 1692. Since English laws restricted the export of minted sterling coinage, there were few English coins in the colonies. Further, it is clear from the statute that Baltimore and Massachusetts coinages were raised in value and thus were considered "foreign" since they was not regal emissions at the English mint standards.

199 See footnote 39 above, for information on small change discovered in Virginia.

200 In 1657, the dimensions, or as the colonials called it the "gage," of a hogshead (a wooden barrel) was regulated in Maryland at 43 inches in length with a 26-inch diameter opening. The gage was revised in 1676 to 43 inches long with a 27-inch diameter and increased again in 1692 to 44 inches long with a 30-inch diameter opening and in 1694 to 48 inches long with a 32-inch diameter opening with a minimum requirement of not less than 46 inches long with a 31-inch diameter opening (see *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 10, p. 492 for 1657; vol. 2, pp. 529-30 for 1676; and vol. 13, pp. 552-54 and vol. 19, pp. 104-6 for 1692 and 1694). In seventeenth century Maryland, the weight of a full hogshead of tobacco increased as the dimensions of the container expanded, going from about 300 pounds to just under 450 pounds. Here are some recorded weights of hogsheads cited in various volumes of the *Archives of Maryland*: on January 18, 1648, eighteen hogsheads of tobacco weighing 6,345 pounds, which averages to 352.5 pounds each (vol. 10, p. 548); a court decision of March 6, 1653, stated that Thomas and John Sturman were to pay Capptain Thomas Cornwallis by November 10th with three hogsheads "every hogshead to Conteyne three hundred and fifty pounds of Sound Neat pickt Tobacco without Ground leaves" (vol. 10, p.348); on the last day of April in 1656 John Hart received a hogshead "weighing Neat three hundred and forty [pounds]" (vol. 10, p. 530); in 1659, a hogshead of tobacco "weighing neate three hundd pownds" (vol. 41, p. 335); also from 1659, a hogshead weighing 336 pounds (vol. 41, p 362); on April 7, 1668, a hogshead at 378 pounds (vol. 60, p. 132); in 1678, a hogshead at 386 pounds (vol. 68, p. 63); in 1682, four hogsheads of tobacco weighing 1,800 pounds, which gives an average of 450 pounds each (vol. 70, pp. 253-54); 1691, a hogshead at 406 pounds (vol. 406, pp. 121 and 231 mentioning the same hogshead with the initials WD [this represents the initials of the cooper, who was required to brand his initials and the weight of the empty barrel on the "Bulge" of the each hogshead and cask produced, see the laws regarding barrel gage cited above]); and on February 11, 1692/3, a hogshead weighing 440 pounds (vol. 406, p. 244). Baltimore's duty was a fixed amount, at 2s per hogshead, thus his percentage of the total value of a crop decreased as the poundage per hogshead increased.

201 Individuals owed Baltimore a quit-rent of 4s per one-hundred acres payable in tobacco at 2d per pound and a duty of 2s per hogshead of tobacco. This arrangement continued until 1717 when quit-rents were abandoned for an increase in the duty to 3s6d per hogshead. See Nettles, pp. 216-17.



Lord Baltimore it would only be valued at the pre-advanced sterling equivalent of 54d (4s6d). The statute was to remain in force for ten years.<sup>202</sup>

Thus, we discover some Baltimore and Massachusetts silver along with Spanish American cobs, some Dutch *rix* dollars and silver riders and a few French *écus*, as the predominant coins in circulation in Maryland. Until 1671 all these coins had been exchanged at par with sterling. The act did not discuss the population ratios among these varieties of coins but as was the case in the other English colonies, except for Massachusetts Bay, Spanish American cobs undoubtedly predominated. It should be remembered that most exchanges continued to be transacted using tobacco and tobacco credits calculated at a predetermined sterling price per pound.

The advancement act demonstrates that Maryland realized they could not afford to mint silver coins and had no other way to attract desperately needed coinage into their economy. Based on the quantity of coins in circulation a decade later, in the 1680s, it seems the legislation played a positive role in attracting some coinage into the province. However, Maryland did not attract as much silver as had been hoped, because several other colonies also advanced coinage rates at this time. Further, Maryland colonists obtained no tax relief from the advancement since they were required to pay duties to the province at the sterling exchange rate. By the middle of the decade the tobacco depression was over and prices for the product rose slightly. During this economic upswing the need for silver was less urgent and it seems the colonists wanted to address the inequities of receiving coins at an advanced rate but being required to pay taxes at the sterling rate, therefore, during the General Assembly of May-June 1676, the advancement act was repealed and the province returned to an exchange rate at par with sterling.<sup>203</sup>

### Coinage and the Maryland economy in the late 1670s and early 1680s

The economy of Maryland did not diversify at the same rate as the population grew. More coinage was available than in previous decades, but tobacco remained the mainstay of the economy. The tobacco economy was based on rural farms located near waterways so the product could be shipped without the expense of overland travel. The transformation of the economy was to be a long and arduous process. On March 26, 1678, Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore,<sup>204</sup> wrote a lengthy letter to the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, answering a number of questions about Maryland.<sup>205</sup> In answer to queries 11 and 12 he wrote the following explaining the rural nature of the province:

I answer that the principall place or Towne is called s<sup>t</sup> Maryes where the Generall Assemblie and Provinciall Court are kept and whither all Shippes Tradeing there doe in the first place Resort But it cann hardly be call'd a Towne It beeing in Length by the Water about five Myles and in Breadth

202 Recorded in the British State Papers, Colonial Entry Book, see, *Calendar of State Papers, 1669-1674*, item 546 (law 1) on p. 222. Interestingly, on October 2, 1672, Richard Moy, an innkeeper in St. Mary's, did deny & refuse to take a "peece of Spannish Coyne comonly Knowne by the name of a peece of Eight for six shillings sterling money Contrary to An Act of Assembly in that case provided." He was indicted on October 4th by the grand jury (which had started a session on October 1st) and was brought to court on December 10th where his lawyer, Richard Carvile, was able to have the case dismissed for "insufficiency." The reason for this insufficiency is not stated, possibly the coin was severely underweight or a counterfeit (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 65, pp. xxiv, 38 and 44).

203 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, p. 546; McCusker, *Money and Exchange*, p. 189.

204 On November 30, 1675, Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, died and was succeeded by his son Charles, who had been Governor of Maryland since 1661. On March 4, 1675/6, Charles was proclaimed Lord Baltimore and continued to reside in Maryland, personally attending the General Assemblies (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 15, p. 65).

205 See, "Answer of Charles Lord Baltimore to Inquiries concerning Maryland presented to Lords of Trade and Plantations on 26th March 1678" in *Calendar of State Papers, 1677-1680*, item 633 on pp. 226-27.

upwards towards the Land not above one Myle in all which space excepting only my owne house and Buildings wherein the said Courts and Publique Offices are kept There are not above Thirty houses and those at considerable distances from each other and the buildings (as in all other parts of the Provynce[)] very meane and Little and Generally after the manner of the meanest farme houses in England Other places wee have none That are called or cann be called Townes. The people there not affecting to build nere each other but soe as to have their houses nere the Watters for conveniencye of trade and their Lands on each syde of and behynde Their houses by which it happens that in most places There are not ffifty houses in the space of Thirty Myles And for this Reason it is that they have beene hitherto only able to divide This Provynce into Countyes without beeing able to make any subdivision Into Parishes, or Precincts which is a Worke not to be effected untill it shall please God to encrease the number of the People and soe to alter their Trade as to make it necessary to build more close and to Lyve in Townes.<sup>206</sup>

Baltimore then explained in answer to query 14 that the only commodity of the province was tobacco, along with a few skins and some hemp and that tobacco produced considerable custom revenues for England. He then continued that all manufactured goods including clothes and tools were imported balancing out the exported tobacco:

I answer that the only considerable Commodity of this Provynce is Tobacco and perhapps they will never be able to fynde any commodity for Trade which cann ever bring soe great an advantage to the Crowne of England in poynt of coustomes as this commodity brings. The Coustumes thereof due to the Kings Majesty amounting (soe nere as I cann guess) unto more then 40000<sup>lb</sup> paid which is more Then Double the value for which the said Commodities is sold by the Planters I knowe of no Other Commodity of the Production groweth, or Manufacture of this Provynce Except some few skinns of Beasts sometymes bought from the Indian Neighbours which are not considerable. Nor of any Materialls there groweing for shipping or any to be produced unless the Planters should fynde it more for their profit to sowe Hempe Then Tobacco The commodities Imported there are all Manner of Cloaths & other necessaryes for weareing as also Iron Tooles All which are given in Exchange for Tobacco soe that generally speakeing the value of what is Imported aryseth to be nere the value of what is exported. All which may be best knowne from his Majestyes coustome houses in England. Where entryes are made as well of what is exported from England to this Provynce As of what is Imported from thence into England.<sup>207</sup>

As to the prosperity of the colonists he stated:

...All the Planters in Generall affects the style of Marchants because they all sell Tobacco And their cheife Estates consists in the numbers of Their Servants who serve generally but for five or six yeares and then become Planters and call themselves Merchants but generally they are poore Their commodity (which is only Tobacco) not selling for more then One Penny per pound weight. Touching the numbers of masters and Servants I cann give no probable guess nor of the numbers Imported for any tyme certayne only those that doe come are generally English or Irish and very rarely any one of any other Nation.<sup>208</sup>

The tone of Baltimore's responses were meant to suggest to the Committee for Trade and Plantations that the province was a successful colony, expanding in population and in size, with an agrarian economy. They contributed income to the crown through the tariffs paid on tobacco and provided a market for English manufactured goods. However, there were significant challenges in diversifying the province's economic base to include industry and commerce.

206 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 5, pp. 265-66.

207 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 5, p. 266, in answer to inquiry 14.

208 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 5, pp. 268, in answer to inquiries 16, 17 and 21.

Tobacco prices had been on the rise and reached a high in 1678, the year Lord Baltimore's letter was written. However, in the following year prices began to drop and did not really recover for about forty years. Several initiatives were advanced in the Maryland General Assembly throughout this long slump to encourage trade. One major impediment to expanding the economy beyond tobacco was thought to be the inadequate supply of coinage, since the colonists reasoned that coinage would facilitate trade. The lack of coinage and the problems it caused continued to plague the colony. This problem was specifically mentioned in the commissions given to county judges. In the appointment of justices to Somerset County on March 8, 1679, and again in the appointment of justices to Anne Arundel County on December 13, 1680, it was mentioned that:

Our Province depends wholly upon trade, and that we have not as yett money come amongst the Ppeople here Inhabiting to carry on trade, soe that the planter and Marchant are both forced to make many debts w<sup>ch</sup> causeth many suites at law, ...<sup>209</sup>

The legislature believed a key to resolving this situation was to attract more hard money into the province. The most cost-effective way to attract this money was to once again advance the value of coinage. During the General Assembly of October 2 – November 6, 1683, the question of advancing coinage was again brought up for discussion. On Friday, October 5th, a joint legislative committee consisting of Colonel Vincent Lowe and Colonel William Stevens from the upper house with Captain Henry Smith and Henry Hosier of the lower house presented a proposal for setting a certain value upon money brought into the province.<sup>210</sup> The committee proposed raising the value of eight *reales* and *rix* dollars to 84d (7s) [from the current legislated rate of 54d (4s6d)] with other money proportional and passing Massachusetts silver as in New England, that is, at face value. The proposal also suggested Lord Baltimore should be paid his duties at the standard rate of 2s per hogshead of tobacco, but that these duties were to be paid in eight *reales* cobs at 72d (6s) per full weight coin.<sup>211</sup> The proposal was debated and finally tabled by the upper house because Lord Baltimore would "susteyne great loss in Receiving the money" at the rate of 72d (6s) per eight *reales* instead of the current rate, which was at par with sterling, that is, 54d (4s6d) per eight *reales*.<sup>212</sup>

Interestingly, there was no mention of Baltimore coinage in the proposal. Possibly by this date the quantity of Baltimore silver remaining in circulation was too insignificant to mention. This could be because larger quantities of foreign and Massachusetts silver coinages were available, dwarfing the small Baltimore emission. Further, it is possible a portion of the Baltimore silver had been exported, either used to pay importers requesting payment in specie or used to pay rents and duties to the Proprietary. The coins were required to be accepted by the province at face value by the 1661 mint act (that continued in force), whereas they privately traded based on their intrinsic value which was judged to be one-quarter below face value, except during the period of the

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209 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 15, pp. 323-25 for the Anne Arundell County commission. The Somerset County commission contains similar wording and is in the same volume on p. 216. It is incorrectly included in the section on the meeting of the 8th of January 1678, but the document is dated to the 8th of March 1678. The document was incorrectly located in the edition because the Council happened to have met on the 8th of the month in both January and March. Further, the Somerset text mistranscribes "come" as "coine," hence it reads "...wee have not as yett money coine amongst the People here.. ."

210 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 7, pp. 449-50 and 529 on the selection of committee members.

211 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 7, p. 532.

212 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 7, p. 544.

advancement act, from mid-1671 through mid-1676.<sup>213</sup> Probably due to a combination of these factors Baltimore coinage became scarce and was no longer mentioned in literary references or in Maryland provincial documents.

The last contemporary record I have found that could be interpreted as referring to Baltimore coins as a circulating medium is in the proceeding of the Council of Maryland.<sup>214</sup> Among the papers entered into the record of the Council was a copy of a letter from Lord Baltimore to William Blathwayt, a member of the King's Privy Council and secretary of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, dated July 14, 1679, concerning Virginia and incursions by northern Indians.<sup>215</sup> The Council received the letter on October 30, 1679, along with a copy of the laws of Virginia and two copies of a memorandum that simply listed four items. Possibly the items were points of inquiry that Blathwayt was investigating and may relate to the inquiries that Lord Baltimore answered in his letter of March 26, 1678, discussed above. The full text of the memorandum is:

A Memd<sup>m</sup> touching the Government of Maryland.

Maryland.

That my Lord coines money of which he has received a 12<sup>d</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> 3<sup>d</sup>

No oath of allegiance taken but an oath to the Proprietor.

All tryalls in the Proprietors name and not the king's.

Writts sent out in the Proprietors own name in the words To our Trusty and Welbeloved in such a year of our Dominion.<sup>216</sup>

Apparently, Blathwayt was looking into points where he felt the Lord Proprietary might have impinged on royal prerogatives, in the same manner that he and Edward Randolph were investigating the colony of Massachusetts Bay, in an effort to revoke their charter. It seems the author of the memorandum was not clear on the specifics of Baltimore coinage since he incorrectly called the four pence groat a three pence coin. Further, the meaning of the statement on the coinage is unclear. Does it mean Blathwayt had obtained an example of each of the three denominations? Or, does it simply mean Lord Baltimore had minted and received coins in the three denominations listed? Since a misidentification of a denomination would be less likely if Blathwayt had examples of the coins in hand, I suspect the latter meaning is more accurate. Possibly by this time there were few examples of Baltimore silver available. By the late 1670s Baltimore coinage was very rarely mentioned in print and during the 1680s the record is silent. It is interesting to note that the coinage is very rarely mentioned in the period following the death of Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, in November 1675.<sup>217</sup>

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213 When the Advancement act was in force, colonists were legally required to accept the Baltimore coins at face value. It is possible individuals may have privately agreed to accept the coins at face value after 1676, but once the Advancement act was repealed, the colonists were no longer legally required to do so. I have no evidence to suggest the coins continued to trade at face value; I only add this to emphasize that in the open market exchange rates could be higher than the legislated minimum rate, if both parties agreed to use a higher rate.

214 Subsequent contemporary sources mentioning Baltimore coinage do not relate to its continued circulation but simply state as an historical fact that the coinage had been produced in the past, as in Increase Mather's pamphlet of 1688 (second edition in 1689), *New-England Vindicated*, that discusses the objections to the Massachusetts mint, stating on p. 3, "Did not the Lord Baltimore in *Maryland*, Coyn Money with his own Image on one side, and his Coat of Arms on the other?" This statement was not addressing the question as to whether Baltimore coinage was still in circulation, but simply suggested that Massachusetts was being unfairly singled out for minting coins since another colony, namely Maryland, had also minted coins.

215 *Calendar of State Papers, 1677-1680*, item 1060 on p. 393.

216 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 5, p. 271.

217 Hodder, *Ford Part II*, p. 176 points out that Baltimore silver may have been considered rare and collectible items at that time since John Sharp (1645-1714), archbishop of York (1691-1714), who started collecting coins in 1687, had examples of the Baltimore groat and shilling in his collection.

### Economic and political changes in Maryland from the mid 1680s to the mid 90s

Tobacco prices remained depressed throughout this period, consequently the Maryland legislature continued to consider advancing coin values. The aggressive advance that had been tabled in 1683 was modified downward so that at the General Assembly of October 26, 1686, a second act for the advancement of coins was passed. This legislation was similar to the 1671 advancement statute in valuations and included the provision that Lord Baltimore was to be paid as he had been in the past, that is, at a rate that was at par with sterling. However, unlike the earlier law it went on to specify that officials within the province were obligated to receive and take duties and fees in coinage at the advanced rate, namely at 72d (6s) per eight *reales* or equivalent coin in lieu of tobacco.<sup>218</sup> This compromise was acceptable to both the colonists and the Proprietary, because the colonists were not unduly burdened by being required to accept coins at a higher rate than they could be traded when paying provincial duties and fees, while, at the same time, it allowed the Proprietary to continue to collect his annual rents without a loss in revenue. During the General Assembly of November 14 – December 8, 1688, a revised bill for the advancement of coins was read at the November 30th meeting of the upper house, but was rejected. No details on the proposal were included in the minutes, however, during that session, the 1686 legislation was renewed and remained in force until the passage of the advancement act of 1692.<sup>219</sup>

During the 1680s there were signs that the economy was beginning to diversify.<sup>220</sup> Menard has observed that Maryland probate inventories through 1680 expressed value in pounds of tobacco, then, in 1681-82, some estates were valued in tobacco while others were valued in Maryland money of account (i.e. denominated in pence, shillings and pounds rather than pounds of tobacco), and from 1683 Maryland money of account became the standard for valuations.<sup>221</sup> Gloria Main mentions that starting about 1685 estate inventories begin listing a number of individuals with occupations other than planter.<sup>222</sup> In addition to these indications of diversification within the economy, we also find quantities of coinage listed in some estate inventories; for instance, John Rousby, who had been Clerk of the upper house of the General Assembly, died in 1686 in possession of almost £100 in coins.<sup>223</sup>

In July 1689, Colonel John Coode with a force of Protestant rebels marched on and took St. Mary's.<sup>224</sup> On August 1, 1689, proprietary officials signed articles of surrender that included a

218 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 13, pp. 142-43.

219 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 13, pp. 185; with the renewal of the 1686 advancement act during the General Assembly of November 14 – December 8, 1688, it stated on p. 213 that several laws, including an "Act made at a genrll assembly held at St Maries the nineteenth of Novembr 1686 Entitled An Act for Advancemt of Coynes," were "herby reviuied [reviewed] & continued to stand in full force & virtue for & dureing the terme of three yeares or to the end of the next general Assembly wch shall first happen." The next Assembly was May 10-June 9, 1692, when the advancement act was replaced by new legislation that retained the same exchange rates for coins but went into more detail on tobacco duties. McCusker, *Money and Exchange*, p. 189, fails to note the act which passed during the October 1686 General Assembly was renewed in December 1688.

220 McCusker, *Money and Exchange*, pp. 189-96, explains that Maryland's economic development paralleled that of Virginia in the seventeenth century and then, during the early eighteenth century, came under the Pennsylvania sphere of influence.

221 Menard, *Economy and Society*, pp. 465-66; Main, pp. 273-77. Menard explains that during those years (1680-83) the inventories were in Maryland money of account at par with sterling, although several historians refer to the valuations as sterling.

222 Main, pp. 77-78, listing carpenters, coopers, joiners, turners, housewrights, weavers, tailors, shoemakers, smiths and millers.

223 Main, pp. 233-34.

224 D. Jordan, p. 135, summarizes the reasons for this rebellion as follows: "Coode and a company of rebels effectively exploited fears of an Indian attack, rumors of a catholic conspiracy against the Protestants, an accumulation of grievances regarding various aspects of life in the colony, and the failure of the officials to proclaim the new monarchs William and Mary."

clause stating no Catholic could occupy any civil or military office, effectively ending proprietary rule. Lord Baltimore's charter was not revoked and he retained jurisdiction over land allocations and rents, but he no longer had any political authority. For the next three years Coode and his Convention of Protestant Associators ruled Maryland. The convention primarily functioned on the county level, appointing local officeholders, leaving a void in the coordination of higher-level provincial administration. Then, on March 12, 1692, Maryland became a royal colony under Governor Lionel Copley, and in that year new legislation on the advancement of coinage was passed during the General Assembly of May 10 - June 9, 1692, confirming the current advanced rates that had been enacted in 1686, and elaborating on the payment of fees and debts in tobacco, merchandise or money. This legislation remained in force through June of 1694, when Maryland was required to rescind the advancement.<sup>225</sup>

The Maryland legislature wanted to extend the 1692 advancement act but it was clear the Committee for Trade and Plantations opposed the advancement. During the General Assembly of October 3-19, 1695, it was proposed:

That the house would write to Mr. Povey [the clerk of the Privy Council] in Case the Lords of the Committee of Trade and plantations shall not approve of our Bill for Advancement of Coyns already drawn and sent for England and that their Lord<sup>ps</sup> would be pleased to make such proposalls to this house to be considered on as may answer the Ends designed.<sup>226</sup>

The Maryland legislature took a firm stance on this point. During the General Assembly of April 30- May 14, 1696, the Governor's Council sent a list of legislative proposals to the House of Delegates for consideration during that session. The responses from the lower house were recorded in the journal of the Council for Monday, May 4th. Regarding proposal 18, "That more Ports be made" the House of Delegates replied, "Voted that no more Ports be made until our Act for Advancement of Coins be passed according to former Vote of this House."<sup>227</sup> The next day, Tuesday, May 5th, the Governor and his Council produced a letter from Thomas Neale, Master of the London mint, written at the request of the Privy Council that was "sent down to the House for their perusall."<sup>228</sup> The content of the letter was not recorded but it is clear the news was not what the colony wanted to hear.<sup>229</sup> On the final day of the Assembly it was recorded in the Governor's Council that Colonel Henry Jowles, Secretary of the Maryland Council, wrote a reply to Mintmaster Neale that was signed by several members of the Council. Again, there was no transcription of the letter recorded in the Council journal and there was no mention that the letter was signed or

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225 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 13, pp. 493-95. The legislation stated it was to be current for three years but English authorities rescinded the act after two years. The coins specifically mentioned in this act were as follows: "...That every New England shilling shall pass and be deemed to Pass and shall be paid and received for twelve pence sterl. and every New England six pence for six pence sterl. and either of the said Coins in lesser or greater pieces to be advanced the sum of three pence proportionable in every shilling or twelve pence, Also every French Crown peice of Eight Rix Dollar at Six shillings sterl. Ducatoon at Seaven shillings and six pence sterl which said four Coins in greater or lesser pieces to be advanced as aforesaid, Also all othr Coins of silver or Gold fforraign or not fforraign (Except before Excepted) that are or shall be Lycenced to be Exported out of the Kingdome of England and passable in the said Kingdome shall (Except base Coins) shall be paid taken and received with the advance of three pence Sterl in the Value of twelve pence in every piece proportionable... ."

226 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 19, p. 252, during the meeting of the House of Delegates on Wednesday, October 16, 1695. Also see p. 244 where, during the meeting of Tuesday, October 8th, the suggestion was first made that a letter be written to John Povey, Esquire, the clerk of the King's Privy Council. The Committee for Trade and Plantations reported to the Privy Council.

227 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 19, pp. 301-2 with the quote on p. 302.

228 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 19, p. 306.

229 The London mint commissioners had written several letters against the reopening of the Massachusetts mint because they felt all coinage should be equal to what circulated in England; see L. Jordan, pp. 52, 266-70. This, of course, meant that the coins should not be advanced beyond their intrinsic sterling value.

endorsed by Governor Francis Nicholson.<sup>230</sup> The debate seems to have ended at this point and the advancement legislation was not renewed.<sup>231</sup>

### The lion dollar in Maryland

In Maryland during the 1690s the Dutch *leeuwendaalder*, called the lion or “dog” dollar, began to be found in significant quantities alongside Spanish American cobs, but tobacco remained the predominant currency.<sup>232</sup> The coin was not mentioned in advancement legislation until 1693, when it first appears in Pennsylvania and West New Jersey ratings, suggesting the lion dollar may have not been common in the area before the late 1680s or early 1690s.<sup>233</sup>

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230 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 19, p. 324.

231 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 19, p. 382, in the meeting of the Governor’s Council on July 1, 1696, which was the opening day of the next General Assembly, is recorded “A Letter from Esqr Neal relating to Coins.” This may refer to the letter Neale had previously sent. However it is possible, but rather unlikely, that in the seven weeks between May 5th and July 1st the letter written by Jowles had arrived in England and a reply had been carried back to Maryland.

232 For additional information on the lion dollar, which was issued in the Netherlands by six of the seven Dutch provinces, five independent cities and the region of West Frisia at various dates between 1575 and 1713; see Mossman, pp. 65-67. The lion rampant on the reverse of the coin was sometimes mistaken for a dog, hence the term “dog (or dogg) dollar.”

233 Coin advancement legislation in the region goes back to 1672. In the Assize of the Duke of York, held in New York, October 2-7, 1672, it was ordered “that a Boston Shilling shall pass for one Shilling, and a good piece of Eight of Spanish Coyne whether of Mexico, Seville, or a pillar piece shall be valued and goe for six Shilling...” (Linn, p. 74). This legislation was binding in both New York and Pennsylvania. At the Pennsylvania Assembly of March 10, 1683, an act was passed stating “That every Old England Shilling Shall pass for fifteen pence ... And all New England money, at the value it is coyned there; And all Spanish money called pieces of Eight, att six shillings,... always provided that Perues pieces shall pass for five shillings and eight pence and no more” (Linn, p. 145 with gold coins rated on p. 146). It was not until the Pennsylvania General Assembly of May 15-June 1, 1693, that lion dollars were listed in the ratings, and it was clear from the wording of the act that coins frequently traded by weight in Pennsylvania at that time. “Whereas, the Inhabitants of this Province & Country & c Have for divers years Laboured under many Difficulties & inconveniencies in their Commerce and trade, through the scarcity of money and uncertainty in ye valuation thereof. For prevention of which & for the encouragement of Importation of money to promote trade and ease the people. *Be it resolved by the Authority aforesaid*, That all Peru peeces of eight, not less than twelve pennyweight and all Lyon dollars not clipped, shall pass for six shillings. And all peeces of eight, viz: pillar, Mexico & Sevil weighing thirteen penny weight, six shillings and two pence And fourteen penny weight, six shillings and four pence. And fifteen penny weight six shillings and six pence. And sixteen penny weight, six shillings and nine pence. And seventeen penny weight seven shillings. And all half peeces of each sort proportionably. And all Quarter peeces (peru excepted) twenty pence. And all Ryals (peru excepted) ten pence”; see Linn, p. 238. In the West New Jersey legislative session of November 1681, it was enacted that “old England Money shall advance in Country pay, (viz.) an Old England Shilling, at Eighteen pence, this province pay, and so all Coins of Current Money of Old England proportionably; and a New-England shilling to advance to Fourteen-pence, this province pay; and so proportionably of all other Current Coins of New-England Money, which advance shall be hence forward accounted lawful pay of this Province”; see Leaming and Spicer, p. 434. No mention was made of any other coins. Lion dollars were first mentioned in West New Jersey legislation during the Assembly session of October 3-18, 1693, when West New Jersey adopted Pennsylvania ratings for coins, including the rating of “all Dog Dollars not clipt, and Perue Pieces of Eight from *Twelve Penny Weight* and upwards at *six shillings per Piece*”; see Leaming and Spicer, pp. 516-17 and Elmer, pp. 119-20. The “Lyon or Dog dollars” rated at 6s, were also mentioned in the statute passed during the Pennsylvania Assembly of May 10, 1698; see Linn, p. 275. In this note I have focused on the introduction of the lion dollar in the area near Maryland. The lion dollar was also used elsewhere in the American colonies. In New York they are known from the New York paper currency emission of November 1, 1709, where the amounts of sterling silver were expressed in denominations of 4, 8, 16 and 20 lion dollars. Also, in a 1708 letter to Queen Anne, New York Governor, Lord Cornbury, stated the coinage of New York “is the Spanish coin and some Lion dollars”; see, *Calendar 1708-1709*, p. 114. In the hoard retrieved in 1965 from the *H.M.S Feversham*, which sank on October 7, 1711, soon after leaving port in New York City, there were 22 lion dollars, which quantitatively put that variety in third place, although a distant third, following 504 Spanish American cobs and 126 pieces of Massachusetts silver. Lion dollars were also used in Virginia and two lion dollars were present in the remnants of a partially disbursed hoard discovered in Castine, Maine, thought to have been deposited in 1704 by French colonists. See Jordan, “Lion Dollar: Introduction” at <http://www.coins.nd.edu/ColCoin/ColCoinIntros/Lion-Dollar.intro.html> (last accessed April 15, 2004).

The sources indicate lion dollars did circulate in Maryland. However, an online search of all Maryland documents published by the Maryland Archives that were dated between 1650 and 1750 reveals only a few citations to significant quantities of lion dollars.<sup>234</sup> Interestingly, these transactions refer to the construction of a church in the newly established city of Annapolis during the period when the capital was moved there from St. Mary's.<sup>235</sup> At the Maryland Council meeting of May 17, 1697, a case was brought forward in which Captain William Holland was to collect a poll tax in the amount of 70,565 pounds of tobacco, at 40 pounds per poll, for the construction of a church in Annapolis. The governor sold the tobacco to James Coutts, a merchant. However, Coutts only received 30,142 pounds of tobacco from Holland, which was a shortfall of 40,424 pounds. The Council then ordered Captain Holland to pay the balance of the tobacco due from the tax in money "payable in Lyon Dollars or pieces of Eight."<sup>236</sup> We also find lion dollars mentioned in the *Proceeding of the Council of Maryland* in a bond of October 21, 1698, for the Annapolis merchant Samuel Chew. He was the

...Sole trustee for Carrying on the building of the Church of Annapolis by Authority of the Assembly in the full Sume of five hundred thirty five pounds ten shillings good and Lawful money of England to be paid to the sd ffrancis Nicholson... for the use and towards the building the Church aforesd the full Sume of two hundred Sixty two pounds fifteen Shillings in Lyon Dollars att four shill<sup>s</sup> & Six pence per Dollar to be paid att two Equall payments...<sup>237</sup>

The importation of Dutch lion dollars into the American colonies increased during the War of Spanish Succession (1701-14), called Queen Anne's War in the colonies, when England was allied with the Dutch against Spain.<sup>238</sup> During that period very little newly minted Spanish American silver came to Britain or her colonies, and to some extent the deficit was made up by Dutch lion dollars. The lion dollar became a significant coin in Maryland during the 1690s and continued to be an important part of the circulating coinage through the early 1700s.

### Coin advancement considerations during the first years of the eighteenth century

In 1694 Maryland coin rates were officially set at par with sterling and it appears that in small daily transactions silver once again traded at sterling value. In the General Assembly of April 26 – May 9, 1700, it was reported that during the session of the House of Delegates on Monday, April 29th, an unnamed delegate offered "severall proposals for advancement of money in this province w<sup>ch</sup> is referred to y<sup>e</sup> consideration of the whole house."<sup>239</sup> However, no further discussions were

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234 This search included all Provincial, Chancery and County Court proceedings as well as General Assembly journals and laws and selected governmental correspondence, but it did not include all estate inventories.

235 There were three General Assemblies of the Royal Colony of Maryland held at St. Mary's between May 1692 and October 1694. Following the conclusion of the 1694 General Assembly, the Provincial Court, government residences and all colony records and documents, were moved to a newly created port town called Anne Arundell Town, which in late 1695 was renamed Annapolis. All subsequent General Assemblies were held in the new capitol.

236 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 23, p. 100. The price for the tobacco was listed as "13s p Cent."

237 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 25, p. 34. Note that the coins were trading at an advanced rate. In 1694, the Committee for Trade and Plantations had required Maryland to repeal legislation that advanced coin rates. Thus, in 1698, there was no advancement act, so technically coinage was at par with sterling and therefore, a lion dollar should have been valued at 44d (3s8d) and not 54d (4s6d). Clearly, this was a commercial rate reflecting an exchange rate that had been previously accepted by both Francis Nicholson and Samuel Chew.

238 Following the death of King Carlos II of Spain in 1700, Philip of Bourbon, Duke of Anjou, was named heir to the Spanish throne in the late king's will. In February 1701, Philip was crowned as Filipe V, King of Spain. However, Archduke Charles of Austria contested the claim; he made an alliance with the English and the Dutch against the Spanish who were allied with the French and several German states.

239 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 24, pp. 40-41.



recorded on these proposals. The lower house clearly wanted coinage rates advanced but were frustrated by opposition from London.

The topic came up again during the General Assembly of March 16-25, 1701/2, in relation to a request from King William, dated January 19, 1700. The king asked the Maryland colonists to aid the government of New York in a war against Indians by supplying £600 sterling for constructing a fortification and providing a quota of soldiers.<sup>240</sup> The request was forwarded from the Maryland Council to the House of Delegates on Monday, March 16th; it was then read at the delegates meeting on Tuesday and debated during the sessions on Friday and Saturday. A written reply to the royal request was finalized on Tuesday, March 24th and forwarded to the Council.<sup>241</sup> The reply declared that the colonists of Maryland could not supply more than £300, because they were in "as great or greater danger then New Yorke." The delegates explained to the king that Maryland had recently incurred many expenses related to moving the capital from St. Mary's to Annapolis. They went on to point out "how discourageing it will be to us to remitt our treasure and Strength to New Yorke and lay our nakedness and defenceless condicion open to our afs<sup>d</sup> Enemies." The legislators also listed several problems that restrained them from raising funds by imposing additional duties on imported goods or exported tobacco.<sup>242</sup> In relation to coinage problems the fourth reason listed in their response is quite interesting. Basically, the third reason acknowledged that they could not raise money by adding further taxes on tobacco and then, in reason four, went on to discuss the problems related to collecting a tax in hard currency. The delegates stated:

To raise money by Tax on the Inhabitants is utterly impracticable for severall hundred familys, nay the greatest parte of the whole province have not five Shillings by them nor any means to raize it because their [*sic*] is very little among us and that a base Coyne that is not currant w<sup>th</sup> our neighbours, nor have wee any liberty yett from his Maj<sup>ty</sup> to advance coyne soe as to introduce it among us by means whereof the best in the province are some times putt to streights to procure money for their travailing pockett Expences.<sup>243</sup>

This reply explained that many families did not even have 5s in hard currency available. Further, they asserted most of the coinage in Maryland was a "base Coyne" that was not found in the neighboring colonies. Precisely what the base coinage referred to is not mentioned. Possibly it referred to the use of lion dollars in place of Spanish American cobs because lion dollars have a lower silver content than cobs, or, what is more likely, as we shall see below, the base coinage referred to counterfeit examples of cobs and lion dollars. This observation was immediately followed by the statement that coinage was not advanced in Maryland at that time because the king had not given them liberty to raise coin value and therefore coinage was quite scarce. The implication was that since the province was not allowed to legislate advanced rates, coinage was scarcer in Maryland than it was in the neighboring colonies of Virginia, Pennsylvania and West New Jersey where coin values were advanced.<sup>244</sup> Indeed, the comments regarding base coins

240 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 24, p. 208 and vol. 25, pp. 114-15.

241 The various documents relating to this proposal can be found in *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 24, pp. 208, 209, 225-27, 237, 249, 251, 256-58, 314, 343-44 and 394; also see p. x.

242 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 24, p. 256-58, with the two quotes on pp. 256 and 257.

243 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 24, p. 257.

244 In Virginia the Spanish American eight *reales* cob was valued at 5s in 1655 and continued at that rate through 1710; see McCusker, pp. 205-6 and especially footnote 193. In Pennsylvania the eight *reales* was valued at 6s in 1683, rose to 6s2d in 1693 and then to 7s in 1700, with higher rates legislated in the following years that were overturned by the Committee for Trade and Plantations; see McCusker, p. 175. West New Jersey and Delaware adopted the Pennsylvania rates. New Jersey was divided into East and West New Jersey in 1676. The dividing line with East New Jersey put all the other southern counties from Burlington to Cape May in West Jersey. A few weeks after the March 16-25, 1702 Maryland General Assembly, specifically, on April 15, 1702, the two Jerseys were reunited as a royal colony. Delaware was part of Pennsylvania during this period; it was not allowed its own assembly until 1704. For details on the advances in Pennsylvania and West New Jersey see above, footnote 233.

may have also implied that because the neighboring colonies traded coins at advanced rates, the better coinage was flowing out of Maryland while the less desirable base coins were all that were available in the province.<sup>245</sup> Certainly, counterfeit lion dollars and cobs were part of the circulating coinage in Maryland at this time. However, we shall see these coins also circulated in neighboring colonies. The basis for the complaints about coinage problems was not that base coinage circulated in Maryland, for such coinage circulated everywhere, rather, the central complaint was that in relation to its neighbors Maryland had a higher proportion of base coinage.

In a 1706 proposal for small change coins that was sent to Queen Anne the legislature stated that Maryland "is wholly Destitute of any Manner of Coin." Clearly, that statement was not intended to be taken literally. As is the case in most appeals asking that some favor be granted, the extent of the problem was overstated in both the 1702 and 1706 requests for relief.<sup>246</sup> But these statements make it clear that the inhabitants believed the coin supply in Maryland was not as robust as the supply in the neighboring colonies. This suggests that coins were not advanced in daily trade in Maryland and the delegates perceived this situation to be detrimental to sustaining a hard money supply in the province.

Further evidence suggesting coins were not advanced is found in the Maryland advancement act of 1708. The 1708 Maryland legislation states that the Queen's 1704 proclamation and the 1707 act of Parliament were the instruments

...By which it is Conceived that her Gracious Majesty is desirous to Restraine our neighbouring plantations under proprietors from taking such advantages as they have hitherto practized against us under her immediate Commission and Government in Restraineing them from Advancing The Rates of silver Coyne higher then in the said proclamation is allowed and allowing us to Come up to the said Rates.<sup>247</sup>

This means that the Maryland legislators felt the one-third advance proclaimed for all the colonies by Queen Anne in 1704 would require other colonies to reduce their current advances to no more than a one-third increase but that it would allow Maryland to raise coin rates up to the one-third advance. This suggests that in the period from 1694, when the Maryland advancement act was repealed, until the passage of the advancement act of 1708, coinage did not usually circulate in Maryland at an advanced rate. That is, coins were not advanced in small daily exchanges where the official rate was enforced. However, it is clear coin values were advanced in large exchanges where commercial rates were used, as in the 1698 agreement between Samuel Chew and Francis Nicholson, mentioned above, where we find lion dollars trading at 54d, when the sterling value of the coin was only 44d.

Queen Anne's Proclamation of 1704 certainly strengthened the Marylanders' resolve to advance coinage once again, however the law did not change. It should be noted that during the period 1694-1708, it was not illegal to advance coinage beyond the legislated value, which was at par with sterling. Whatever rate two individuals agreed upon would be the rate of a specific transaction. Merchants often negotiated a rate of exchange and included that rate in the contract, sometimes

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245 This is a principle referred to as Gresham's law. Sir Thomas Gresham (1519-1579), who founded the Royal Exchange and was a financial advisor to Queen Elizabeth, observed that if two coins with different intrinsic values (i.e. differing sterling content) passed at the same face value, the coin with the lower intrinsic value will circulate while the coin with the higher intrinsic value will be hoarded or exported and thus disappear from circulation. See Mossman, p. 45, footnote 32.

246 For example, compare these with the quote on coinage in Maryland from Oldmixon, published in 1708, that is found in Appendix 9, discussed below in the postscript.

247 The full text is included below as Appendix 8.

even detailing the specific variety of coin to be used in payment. By advancing the value of hard currency through private contract, and thereby making payment in hard currency attractive so that a buyer would agree to pay in coin at an advanced rate, the seller was assured he would not be encumbered with tobacco credits when a major transaction was concluded.<sup>248</sup>

### **The 1706 proposal for small copper coins**

After so many years without support from London for an advancement of coin values, the colonists in Maryland were certainly pleased with Queen Anne's proclamation of 1704. The prospect of some relief from sterling rates and the hope of increasing the coin supply may have been among the factors that encouraged the governor and his council to initiate a small change proposal. During the 1706 Maryland General Assembly, the Council sent a recommendation to the House of Delegates on Thursday, April 11th, proposing the minting of small copper coins. The document explained that the lack of a circulating small change or as they expressed it "a small runing Cash" greatly hindered the business of "poor indigent Labourers and Artificers such as Carpenters, Coopers, Smiths, Brick-layers & Boatmen" who needed a daily supply of coins rather than a single annual payment in tobacco. It was explained that this inability to make prompt payment was the principal reason "such Tradesmen generally leave the Province & go to the Northward where they are not under that Difficulty." This initial proposal suggested "some small Copper Coyne" should be current, namely, "Small Copper pence Sixpences & shillings with her Maj<sup>ty</sup>s Royall Pourtraiture on the one side Maryland on the other, Which should only be current in this Province." The emission was to cost the province £700 sterling for the copper and the minting fees. However, the face value of this coinage would be £4000 and was to be emitted by the Provincial Treasury for bills of exchange. The coinage would be current for payments not exceeding £5 with fines imposed on those caught attempting to export them. Since these base copper tokens would have a face value that far exceeded their intrinsic value, the Council suggested that "the Publick Faith be engaged" and further suggested the Provincial Treasury set aside silver coinage to the value of £1000 sterling per year until £4000 was available so that laborers and artificers could bring in quantities of not less than £5 of the coppers and exchange them for bills of credit or "other current Coyne."<sup>249</sup>

It was further suggested that the silver coinage, which was to be set aside, "may remayne a Sacred Treasure never to be touch'd unless some greate Invasion made on the Country." The Council reasoned that such a plan could help the province retain tradesmen and would also promote the growth of towns. Furthermore, since smaller exchanges would be able to be transacted without the expenses related to the handling and shipment of tobacco or the accounting involved in tobacco credit transfers "Workmens Wages will be considerably cheaper [and] ordinary Accomodations may well be afforded at halfe the extravagant prices they now Sold at." Additionally, this coinage would keep the sheriffs from having to raid a planter's tobacco warehouse in order to obtain money due for past debts and further, in the event of "any fatall Emergencye," the province would have "a Bancke to make use of which will not only be £4000 but really £7000." Clearly they reasoned this emergency fund included the £4000 sterling in silver that

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<sup>248</sup> In theory, advancing the commercial rate for hard currency above the legal rate was to have ended with the passage of the 1707 parliamentary act allowing the colonies to advance coins by up to one-third over sterling value. The English Parliament expressly stated that rates above the one-third advancement were illegal and violators would be prosecuted. Previous advancement legislation, which had been initiated by the colonial legislatures, required individuals in the colony to accept coinage at the advanced rate, but did not prohibit individuals from trading coinage at even higher rates, if the parties involved chose to do so. Interestingly, after 1708, Maryland seems to have adhered to the proclamation rates of exchange for hard currency until the 1740s, far longer than other colonies.

<sup>249</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 26, p. 530; the full text is included below in Appendix 6A.

would be held by the Treasury as well as the bills of credit to be issued in exchange for the coppers.<sup>250</sup>

The proposal was sent to the House of Delegates where it was discussed and modified so that the copper denominations were lowered to a penny, threepence and sixpence, instead of the penny, sixpence and shilling.<sup>251</sup> On Monday morning, April 15th, the house requested that two of their number, namely, Colonel John Contee of Charles County and Henry Coursey of Kent County, compose a letter to be sent to Queen Anne under the signatures of the governor, the council and the members of the house of delegates, requesting permission to proceed with the coinage proposal.<sup>252</sup> The letter was rather brief, simply explaining that due to a lack of coinage the colony labored "under the greatest difficulties & Inconveniences imaginable" and tradesmen were especially hurt, therefore they were asking the queen to grant them "Small Copper Coyne in pence three pences & six pences with your Maj<sup>ty</sup>s Royall Protraiture on the one side & Maryland on the other" with an intrinsic value of £700 sterling, which amount the colony would remit to the royal Treasury.<sup>253</sup> Details on the proposal for eventually backing the coinage with silver by keeping "a Bancke" in the provincial treasury were not included. On Wednesday afternoon, April 17th, the letter was read in the house and sent to the council for signatures.<sup>254</sup>

To expedite this request Maryland retained Colonel Nathaniel Blackiston as their agent in London to work on behalf of the province with a remuneration of £150 sterling per year. Blackiston was a popular former governor of the province who had returned to England in 1702, due to ill health. Before his departure the Maryland legislature had agreed to retain him as their agent, both advocating on their behalf with English administrators and government officials as well as assisting the colony with the purchase of supplies in London whenever such services were needed.<sup>255</sup> In 1706 it was thought that Blackiston could assist Maryland with the coinage request and also expedite the sale of munitions to the colony.<sup>256</sup>

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250 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 26, p. 531. The total would be £8000, if the bills of credit were to equal the face value of the coinage emitted. It seems the Council either assumed no more than three-quarters of the copper coinage was to be accepted by the Treasury at any one time and thus expected to limit the bills of credit to £3000 or they simply made an error by using £7000 instead of £8000. The total available to the province would be the £4000 in silver plus any unissued bills of credit as well as any copper coins turned in for bills of credit.

251 There are no records related to this debate, but the denominations were changed to the penny, threepence and sixpence in the final letter sent to the queen.

252 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 26, p. 598, see below Appendix 6B.

253 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 26, pp. 551-52. The full text is included below in Appendix 6C. Requests for such a coinage continued to be actively pursued through the Maryland General Assembly session of October 25-November 10, 1709; see *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 25, pp. 380, 414 and 439.

254 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 26, p. 611.

255 Blackiston's first assignment, in 1702, was to represent the province's position in London against the royal request that money and troops be sent to support New York.

256 Since no provisions had been made to appropriate the required salary for their agent, Blackiston's remuneration became a regular topic of discussion during the meetings of the General Assembly. But, both houses felt the money was well spent. During the afternoon session of Friday, April 11, 1707, the Maryland Council stated that Blackiston had not been paid for 1706 so they wanted to insure he would be paid for last year and for the current year. They were "of [the] opinion the services of the said Coll Blackiston are beneficial and absolutely Necessary to this province Especially at this time he is Employed to Solicite her Majty for Copper money Proposed [,] and Purchase more Armes and Amunition for the Countrys Service [,] and also obviate many reflections cast upon the Country... ." A similar statement was also made that day in the House of Delegates. However, by December of 1708, it seems the legislature reconsidered and on December 10th agreed Blackiston would no longer be their agent (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 27, pp. 49-50 with the quote on p. 50; also pp. 112-13 for the lower house statement and p. 302 mentioning that during the 1708 General Assembly Blackiston had been paid for 1707 but still needed to be paid for 1706 and 1708. On December 10, 1708, the Council in the General Assembly decided "that Colo Blackiston continue no longer Agent and that his Attorney here have Notice thereof" see, p. 305). In the minutes of the Maryland Council meeting of September 22, 1706, it was recorded that "Colonel Blakiston Agent for this Province had purchased and Sent One hundred Musquetts fifty Carabines and two Halberts" (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 25, p. 210).

The April letter requesting copper coinage arrived in London, where it was considered by the Privy Council. On November 27th the petition was forwarded to the Committee for Trade and Plantations with the request that they consider the proposal and provide the queen with a report on what action should be taken. The request was read and recorded into the minutes of the Committee for Plantations meeting of December 19th.<sup>257</sup>

Meanwhile, Governor Seymour had amplified his rationale for the coinage proposal in a letter written to the Committee for Trade and Plantations on August 21, 1706, that detailed the results of the 1706 Maryland legislative session. The letter was received in London on December 3, 1706, but it was not officially read by the Committee for Plantations until the meeting of February 20, 1706/7. It appears the letter was held back so that it would not come up for discussion until after the queen had forwarded the original coinage request to the Committee on December 19th. In the August letter Seymour asked that the Committee for Trade and Plantations not only consider the letter sent to the queen regarding the small change request, but that they also refer to the fuller proposal outlined in the journals of the Maryland legislature, which had been sent to them. The governor went on to explain that an infusion of small change would be instrumental in establishing port towns in Maryland. At that time the annual tobacco crop was picked up at several small docks, as British merchants traveled up and down the Chesapeake negotiating at each landing with individual planters. If the governor could develop a few major port towns the tobacco could be transported to these central locations allowing for "more ready dispatching and shipping." Seymour explained to the Committee for Trade and Plantations that the small change coins would be used to pay "boatage" fees related to transporting tobacco from the plantations to the towns.<sup>258</sup> Obviously this argument was made to demonstrate that the coinage could assist in making the tobacco trade more profitable for the British merchants, and by extension, more profitable for the crown. The governor also suggested the development of the proposed towns would aid in defense, "seeing the French and Spaniards are so potent and industrious to annoy these American parts." He explained that a group of individuals living together in a town could defend themselves and that the town could act as a refuge for those farmers living in isolation in the counties. Thus, in addition to the reasons enumerated by the Maryland legislature, the coinage would assist in establishing towns that would allow the tobacco trade to be more efficient and could provide the colony with defenses against outside attacks.<sup>259</sup>

A letter from the Committee for Trade and Plantations to Governor Seymour dated March 26, 1707, acknowledged receipt of the governor's letter of August 21, 1706, that had included the amplified discussion regarding the coinage. The Committee's March letter then went on to inform the governor about various subjects including the small coinage request. They told Seymour that they supported his proposal and would recommend that copper coins be sent to Maryland, explaining,

And as to the Assembly's desire of a small species of copper coin, if they send over the value hither, we shall move H.M. [that is, Her Majesty] that such a quantity of copper coin be sent in lieu thereof; upon condition that no persons be forced to take the same in payment, w<sup>ch</sup> ought to be voluntary.<sup>260</sup>

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257 *Calendar of State Papers, 1706-1708*, item 630, pp. 320-21.

258 A boatage fee would be paid by the planter for the right to dock and unload tobacco at the town port.

259 *Calendar of State Papers, 1706-1708*, item 470, pp. 194-98, with the coinage discussed on pp. 196-97. The passage is included below as Appendix 6 D.

260 *Calendar of State Papers, 1706-1708*, item 825, pp. 405-6 with the quote on p. 406.

However, in another long letter from Seymour to the Committee for Trade and Plantations from June 10, 1707, the governor described a counterfeiting operation, discussed below, and then went on to include another plea for the small change coinage, stating,

And since Money is become so absolutely necessary Wee earnestly begg her Gracious Ma<sup>tye</sup> the Queene, will be pleased to intrust Us with a Species of small Copper Coyne, as by our Address Wee have pray'd.<sup>261</sup>

Thus, it seems, as of June 10th, the governor had not received the Committee's letter of March 26th approving his coinage plan. In a letter to Seymour of September 2, 1707, the Committee acknowledged receipt of Seymour's letter of June 10th and explained to him that "As to your desire of having a species of small copper money, we must refer you to the letter writ you March 26, by the late Commissioners of the Board [i.e. the former Committee members], upon that subject, and shall expect your answer thereunto."<sup>262</sup>

It seems the letter of March 26, 1707, from the Committee for Trade and Plantations was delayed in reaching Maryland. There was no mention of the letter for over two years. In the intervening period the Maryland legislature was occupied with other coinage matters, specifically the Clarke conspiracy and counterfeiting ring uncovered in 1707 and then the 1708 legislation on the advancement of foreign coins. The first indication of the arrival in Maryland of the Committee for Plantations letter of March 26, 1707, is found in the records of the 1709 legislative session, where we learn the letter "did not come to hand until June 24, 1709."<sup>263</sup> Soon thereafter, on July 30th, Governor Seymour died. Edward Lloyd, grandson of the Edward Lloyd who sat on the Maryland Council in the 1660s, was selected as president of the Council and became acting governor until John Hart was appointed as governor in 1714. On October 27, 1709, during the Maryland General Assembly of October 25-November 10, the information in the 1707 Committee for Plantations letter assenting to the coinage request was forwarded to the Speaker of the House.<sup>264</sup> The letter was then presented to the House of Delegates on Wednesday, November 5th, and the content of the letter was recorded into the house journal as follows:

And as to the Assembly's Desire of a small Species of Copper Coin if they send over the Value hither we shall move her Majesty that such a Quantity of Copper Coin be sent in Lieu thereof, upon Condition that no Person be forced to take the same in Payment which ought to be voluntary.<sup>265</sup>

No further action was taken and the project was abandoned. No specific reasons for rejecting the offer were recorded in the legislative journals, so we are left to speculate as to what happened. The entire General Assembly had signed the original request for coinage that had been sent to the queen. Clearly this indicated the proposal had widespread support. However, the modification of the request by the House of Delegates to lower denomination coins indicates some disagreements with the original proposal offered by the governor and his council. Governor Seymour was a career army officer, viewed as an autocratic outsider who put the interests of the crown above those of the colonists. His support for the plan requiring planters to transport and unload tobacco

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261 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 25, pp. 262-67, with the quote on p. 266; also in, *Calendar of State Papers, 1706-1708*, item 925, pp. 468-72, with the quote on p. 471.

262 *Calendar of State Papers, 1706-1708*, item 1113, pp. 544-46, with the quote on p. 545.

263 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 27, p. 380, for the Council, where the letter is correctly dated as from March 26, 1707 and p. 439 for the House of Delegates, where the minutes mistranscribe the date of the letter as November 26, 1707.

264 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 27, p. 414.

265 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 27, p. 439; also see p. 414 stating a paragraph on this topic had been delivered to the Speaker of the House on October 27th.

at central ports was seen as one of several initiatives where the governor favored policies that benefited British merchants over local planters and thus made him unpopular in Maryland.<sup>266</sup> Possibly by linking the coinage initiative with the establishment of ports for tobacco storage the copper coin proposal lost the support of the legislature. Also, as discussed below, in 1708 coin advancement legislation was passed. It is possible the legislature believed the coin advancement act would increase the money supply and thus negate the need to pay for the minting of coins. It does appear the Committee for Trade and Plantations was willing to support the Maryland request for small change but, the delay in receiving this information in Maryland, along with the death of Governor Seymour soon after the information arrived, the opposition to the governor's policies in the legislature and the passage of the 1708 coin advancement act caused the proposal to be tabled. No funding was ever allocated for the project and no coins were ever produced.

### Counterfeiting in the royal colony of Maryland

In 1707 a conspiracy against the inhabitants of Maryland was uncovered that had been masterminded by Richard Clarke, an outlaw with a price on his head since 1705.<sup>267</sup> Governor Seymour, in his summary of the situation to the Committee for Trade and Plantations, explained that

Richard Clarke with his Gange of Runaway Rogues had concerted to Seize on our Magazine, and burne this Towne and Port of Annapolis, & then Steale a Vessell and turne pyrates.<sup>268</sup>

It came to light that Clarke had counterfeited lion dollars and pieces of eight, which he used to purchase supplies and to pay off "several Housekeepers of desperate Fortunes and other disaffected Persons" who joined the conspiracy. It was discovered that Clarke had been responsible for the fire that burned the State House to the ground on the night of October 17 or 18, 1704, destroying many legal documents. Apparently the conspirators hoped to eradicate all evidence of the debts they owed. This group may also have been responsible for a fire in 1705

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266 See D. Jordan, pp. 214-26, especially 219-20 on towns and ports. On p. 216 Jordan summarized, "Outward relations, though generally proper and cordial at the outset of Seymour's tenure, deteriorated steadily over these years, and even from the first meetings the lower house persistently declined to enact the legislation Seymour most ardently sought. Although differences extended over a wide range of issues, opposition coalesced most particularly around three disputes: the assembly's treatment of Sir Thomas Lawrence, the regulation of the economy, and the governor's greatly desired judicial reforms."

267 In the minutes of the Maryland Council meeting of February 22, 1704/5, it is recorded "By Severall Informations yesterday taken this Boarde are Satisfied that Richard Clarke and Benjamine Celie do lye out from the inhabitants and ride armed threatening the Death of Severall of her Majestys good Subjects here and putting the Inhabitants in Terrour of their Lives & Robing their houses. Ordered that a Proclamation Issue with Tenn pounds Reward for takeing each or either of them and bring them to lustice" (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 25, p. 185). Clarke eluded authorities but Celie was apprehended. He soon escaped from jail and then was recaptured and deported to Barbados.

268 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 25, pp. 262-67, with the quote on pp. 262. Also edited in, *Calendar of State Papers, 1706-1707*, item 975 on pp. 468-72. The House Select Committee stated in their summary of these events that Clarke plotted "To disturb her Majesty's Peace and Government here to make an Attempt upon the Town of Annapolis and burn some Houses there and whilst that Consternation continued to seize the Magazine and powder House to furnish themselves with Arms and Ammunition in order to go a Privateering... [and they had] ... agreed to take Mr Bruff's Boat and if that not Sufficent Mr Evan Joanes's Shallop or any other Vessel fit for their Turn and as soon as they had done their Mischeif here go to Carolina" (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 27, pp. 130-35; the summary of the events is on pp. 134-35 with the quote from p. 134). Also see Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial America*, pp. 21-23 for a summary of Clarke's activities.

that destroyed many probate records.<sup>269</sup> Clarke had the support of several of the poorer inhabitants throughout the county of Anne Arundel, who aided him in his flight from the authorities. Governor Seymour related that:

All means having prov'd ineffectuall to apprehend and bringe the said Clarke to Iustice, The Assembly, for the better Security of the province, & to deterr any from associating with him past An Act to attaint him of high Treason: And this province has already and is Still like to be at no little Charge and trouble upon his Account. For altho' he is one of the Greatest of Villains, Yet (especially in this County of Ann Arundell) he has So many neare Relations that Wee find it very difficult to discover his haunts. And what is worse out of a foolish Concept of his being a Stout Fellow, and Country borne, the Natives being now growne up, and most of them in Offices, are very backward, if not altogether unwilling to bring him in, could they conveniently meete with him. During the Session one Mr Joseph Hill (Country borne) & a Member of the House of Delegates, was by that House expell'd the Assembly, for adhering to, assisting; & corresponding with the Said Clarke; notwithstanding which I am doubtfull.<sup>270</sup>

Apparently one of Clarke's chief associates, Daniel Wells, stole or destroyed some of Clarke's counterfeit money and decided to flee, which led to the arrest of some conspirators and the uncovering of the plot.<sup>271</sup> Clarke was charged with high treason and was captured in March

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269 In the *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 25, preface, p. x, William Hand Browne stated "In the night of Oct. 17, 1704, the State House was burned and many of the records destroyed. This calamity was followed the next year by a fire, which destroyed the courthouse, to which the records had been removed, and several other buildings. These fires were believed to be the work of conspirators who wished to destroy the evidence of their indebtedness. Their ringleader, Richard Clarke, was tried for this and other heinous offences, found guilty and executed." Interestingly, Morris Radoff, in his 1960 history of Maryland courthouses, stated the fire occurred a day later, "On the night of October 18, 1704," (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 545, p. 13). In the summary of the 1707 House Select Committee findings, it was suggested that "...had this cursed and villainous Design taken Effect we and our Posterity might have been ruined by the burning of the Records which we are of Opinion was the chief Intent and Design of those Villainies" (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 25, p.135). It appears Clarke was responsible for the State House fire. The first State House in Annapolis, built in 1697, was completely destroyed by the fire of October 1704. Some provincial documents were lost, as well as most of the Anne Arundel County Court records but the most current court and land records were not in the building the night of the fire. The surviving documents were temporarily stored in the Free School of Annapolis until a new State House was completed in 1706 (later, in 1772, it was torn down and replaced by the current, third, State House); see, *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 415, p. 44, vol. 546, p. 47 and vol. 547, p. 45. However, what Browne called the "courthouse" fire of the following year may not have actually been a fire at a courthouse. In a "Petition of Hugh Eccleston, John Hodson, Joseph Ennails and Roger Woolford of Dorchester County on Behalf of several the Inhabitants," endorsed in April of 1707, it stated that documents that had survived the first fire were on a boat being transported back to the temporary document repository when the boat caught fire. Apparently, Humphrey Hubbard, a Deputy Commissary of the County, "...did take the Inventories of several Estates and Accounts and Probate of the same made up before him according to the Act of Assembly in such Case provided. And ...coming up to the Commissary General Court in Order to return the said Wills Inventories and Accounts into the said Office an Accident by Fire happened, whereby not only the Boat of the said Humphry was wholly consumed but also all the said Wills Inventories and Accounts were wholly consumed and turned to Ashes by which Means Sundry of the Inhabitants having Lands and Legacies bequeathed unto them by the said Wills and several Orphans and Creditors by the Loss of such Inventories and, several poor ignorant People having exhibited and made up such Accounts and not having Copies of the same are likely and will if not remedied suffer very much some to their Disinherison and Ruin" (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 27, p. 90). Whether Clarke was responsible for this fire is not mentioned, but it seems the fire was on a boat and not at the Free School, which, at that time, was being used as the courthouse repository.

270 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 25, pp. 262-67 with the quote on pp. 262-63. Also edited in *Calendar of State Papers, 1706-1707*, item 975 on pp. 468-72.

271 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 27, p. 135, "Wells having broke some of Clarke's Money was in Fear of being apprehended...went off in a boat." Then without further explanation the summary continues, "Sometime after [...] several of them were apprehended in Annapolis and committed to prison, to wit, Stimpson, Cooper, Williams, Peacock and Keyton, where they now lye... "



1707.<sup>272</sup> A select committee of the House of Delegates held hearings on this conspiracy from Monday, March 31 through Thursday, April 3, 1707. In the aftermath of this investigation it was discovered that Richard Clarke also used an alias. A sailor named John Spry testified he had worked for Clarke in Virginia and at that time Clarke went by the name Robert Garrett.<sup>273</sup> Clarke was convicted of high treason and executed in April.

In a deposition of the Annapolis merchant, Mr. Charles Carroll, recorded into the minutes of a House of Delegates select committee meeting, is a specific incident describing exactly how Clarke tried to pass counterfeit coins in Carroll's shop. The report of his testimony follows:

M<sup>r</sup> Charles Carroll says That Richard Clarke's wife sent her Son as the Son told the said Carroll to buy some Cloathing Bedding and other Particulars Things out of his Store and he demanding of the young Man whether he brought Money replied he had, whereupon he delivered him such Things as he had desired to the Value of about three Pounds: Upon the [*sic!* for him or his] producing the Money the said Carroll found it not good but told the Lad he would keep it until he saw Richard Clarke's wife to acquaint her therewith. In some small Time after Clarke's Wife coming to the said Carroll's store and dealing with his Storekeeper to the Value of between four and five Pounds the Storekeeper upon Tender of the Money refused to take it until he had shewed the same to the said Carroll who upon View thereof found it was a base Coin such as commonly goes about the Country here and breaks in letting them drop being some Dollars some Pieces of Eight both of one Metal Whereupon the said Carroll returned the Money to the said Clarke's wife and kept the Goods until she had changed the Money received of her Son and brought good Money for what She had bought herself but for Certainty of Time refers to his Shop Books.<sup>274</sup>

From this testimony the House Committee concluded that although they knew Clarke counterfeited the money, they stated his wife was the person responsible for disbursing it to Mr. Carroll. The committee further suggested the counterfeit coinage had been paid to several individuals to induce them to participate in the plot.

Soon after the Clarke hearings were completed the legislature passed an act against counterfeiting or clipping foreign gold or silver coins. Anyone convicted of counterfeiting or clipping, or assisting in the process, would be whipped and have both ears cropped for the first offence and, if convicted a second time, one would be branded on the cheek and banished from the colony (see Appendix 7 below for the full text).

A few additional details on the counterfeit coins are found in a letter of June 10, 1707, from Governor Seymour to the Committee for Trade and Plantations in London. The governor explained that Clarke counterfeited Spanish eight *reales* and "Dollars of the Low Countrys" namely, lion dollars. Apparently the coins were made of a mixture of base metals; the governor

272 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 25, pp. 237-38. In the Council meeting of Tuesday, March 23, 1707, it was reported that "The Sherriff of Ann Arundell County by Order of his Excy the Governour brought Richard Clarke before the Board Who presented himselfe in most Suppliant Manner and being Examined of his practices and Accomplices therein against this her Matys Government Offerred to discover Severall psons who had entertayned him and Associated with him since his Outlawry and Attainder But after the Board had had a great Deale of patience with them in Expectation of a full free and Ingenious Confession He not offering anything worthy their further Consideration or that might any ways induce them to thinke him worthy of her most Sacred Matys Royall Mercy, He was Comitted to her Matys Goall in the Custody of the aforesaid Sherriffe of Ann Arundell County."

273 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 27, p. 31, from the journal of the Council for the afternoon of Saturday, April 5th, the identification of Clarke as Garrett is also found in the testimony of Thomas Brereton given on April 7th, p. 34, and is mentioned several other times as on p. 46 and in the lower house proceedings on pp. 114-16 and elsewhere.

274 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 27, pp. 133-34, from the report of the select committee of the House of Delegates, Tuesday, April 1, 1707.

speculated they were composed of pewter with some glass and other mixed metals.<sup>275</sup> The letter also mentioned that a law against counterfeiting had been passed and then went on to plead for a favorable ruling on the colony's request for small copper coins. The governor's text follows:

Richard Clarke and his prodigall Companions lately sett an Expedient on foote to retrieve Some of their Shatter'd fortunes, and carry on their base designs which was forgeing and counterfeiting a considerable Quantity of false money like unto the peices of the Eight of Spaine and the Dollars of the Low Countrys which they made of pewter glass and other mixt Mettall; but the Cheate being presently detected, the Assembly made An Act to punish Such like Offenders, & the Utterers of Such false moneys. And since Money is become so absolutely necessary Wee earnestly begg her Gracious Ma<sup>tye</sup> the Queene, will be pleased to intrust Us with a Species of small Copper Coyne, as by our Address Wee have pray'd.<sup>276</sup>

It is interesting to note that complaints of base metal counterfeit coinage appear in other colonies during this period. In Philadelphia there were several individuals arrested for counterfeiting Spanish American silver, among those listed in Scott's, *Counterfeiting in Colonial Pennsylvania* are: Robert Fenton and his several accomplices in 1683; Thomas Lasy for making "Base peeces of eight" in 1689; John Rush in 1690; Richard Thomson in 1691; Charles Butler in October of 1691 for producing pieces of eight of "false mixt mettall" and Jeremiah Collett convicted in 1701 of passing "peces of lead and potsherds" as silver money.<sup>277</sup> In March of 1688 Thomas Kanes was convicted of passing counterfeit eight *reales* in Lewes, Delaware.<sup>278</sup> On June 21, 1698, Philadelphia shopkeepers complained about "farthings & halfpence that are made of Lead & pewter." These coins may have been the regal English tin farthings and halfpence that had been recalled in 1694, or, they may have been locally produced products. Massachusetts legislation of February 21, 1701, stated that "some persons, for private gain, have of late presumed to Stamp and Emit peices (*sic*) of brass and Tin at the rate of a penny each." The act also mentioned that the tokens had the stamp or mark of the emitter, that is, his initials or symbol, on them.<sup>279</sup> At this time, in several other colonies individuals had been accused, and sometimes convicted, of making false coins such as William Dickinson of Burlington County, New Jersey, convicted in 1702.<sup>280</sup> The Maryland situation with Robert Clarke was not unique. Indeed, in Charles Carroll's testimony, it was stated that the Clarke counterfeits were "a base Coin such as commonly goes about the Country here" implying such coinage normally circulated in Maryland. These cases, from the

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275 Clearly, the composition of the coins was not analyzed by an assay. This description may be taken as a general indication that the coins were made of base metals. Glass may refer to the possibility that silica and potash were added to the mix. Interestingly, it seems the coins would break or shatter when dropped; Carroll stated the counterfeit coin was "a base Coin such as commonly goes about the Country here and breaks in letting them drop..." and, as cited in footnote 271, it was stated that "Wells having broke some of Clarke's Money..."

276 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 25, pp. 262-67 with the quote on pp. 265-66. Also edited in, *Calendar of State Papers*, 1706-1707, item 975 on pp. 468-72, with the quote on p. 471, with slightly different punctuation and capitalization; the letter was received on August 18th and read in the Committee for Trade and Plantations meeting of August 27, 1707.

277 Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial Pennsylvania*, pp. 1-11.

278 This case was recently the subject of a newspaper article by Michael Morgan, "Evidence shows Lewes Colonists used Pieces of Eight," in the *Delaware Coast Press*, for Wednesday, April 14, 2004, consulted on the web at <http://www.delmarvanow.com/deweybeach/stories/20040414/230703.html> (last accessed April 19, 2004).

279 See Crosby, pp. 114-15; Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial Pennsylvania*, pp. 9-11; Mossman, p. 110 and L. Jordan, *Coins*, in the section, "Small Change Coinage of ca. 1700 and Related Coinage Proposals: Introduction," at <http://www.coins.nd.edu/ColCoin/ColCoinIntros/MA-Pence.intro.html> (last accessed March 8, 2004).

280 Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial America*, p. 27. Among the other counterfeiters from ca. 1700 see Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial America*, pp. 26-27 for a listing of New Jersey counterfeiters; Glaser, p. 12, discusses a Mr. Ludlow and others in New York in 1699, and Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial Connecticut*, pp. 1-3, mentions Robert Fenton, resurfacing in Connecticut in 1699, counterfeiting Spanish American silver and the half-moidore, (Scott says the coin in question was a half-Joe, but the *Johannes* series did not begin until 1722).

1680s to early 1700s, demonstrate the widespread nature of the problem. The production of counterfeit base metal coins became as significant a problem as the illegal but pervasive practice of clipping circulating silver. In part, this growth in counterfeiting reflects an increase in the quantity of coinage available. In Maryland, as in other colonies, coinage was becoming a more commonly used medium of exchange, replacing barter and commodity monies such as tobacco for smaller purchases. As the use of coinage became more widespread there developed both a growing need for additional small change, as well as more opportunity for individuals to produce and pass counterfeit coins. Thus, we find citations to more incidents of counterfeiting and we encounter several attempts to supply areas with tin, lead and other base metal coinage. Due to the legislative hearings regarding Richard Clarke we have a more complete account of his activities than we have for most of the other counterfeiters in the American colonies during that era.

### The 1708 advancement of coinage and the status of the lion dollar in Maryland

In 1694 the Committee for Trade and Plantations had vetoed the coinage advancement act, which meant that the legislated rates of exchange for foreign coinage in Maryland returned to par with sterling. A decade later, in 1704, Queen Anne issued a proclamation ordering the colonies to advance coins by one-third of their sterling value, revitalizing the discussion of advancement legislation in Maryland. Soon thereafter, in 1707, the English Parliament enacted a law requiring the colonies to pass legislation advancing coinage by one-third.<sup>281</sup> The next year Maryland passed advancement legislation during the General Assembly of November 29-December 17, 1708. Coinage was advanced one-third so that a full weight eight *reales* traded at 72d (6s). Amounts trading at the one-third advance were referred to as sums in proclamation money. This act became law in Maryland on May 1, 1709, and remained in effect for over forty years.<sup>282</sup>

Richard Chalmers stated that the Dutch lion dollar was the chief metallic currency of Maryland because it was mentioned in the 1708 Maryland statute setting the rates for foreign coins as "the only general coyne among us."<sup>283</sup> That specific phrase, which is mentioned in Chalmers, is not found in either the 1708 statute or the discussions related to the legislation, recorded in the proceedings of the upper and lower houses of the legislature. The 1708 statute setting the rates for foreign coins is included below, in full, as Appendix 8. Following the preamble the law stated:

And be it Enacted...that from and after the first day of May which shall be in the yeare of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and nine...a piece of Eight of Seville pillar and Mexico weighing Seventeen penny halfe penny weight and of foure Shillings and Six pence Intrinsick Vallue shall

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<sup>281</sup> Raising the rate of exchange of a coin by one-third of its sterling value is the same as increasing the rate 25% over sterling value; the former (as expressed by Queen Anne) describes the method while the latter (as expressed in Maryland advances) describes the result. For example, an eight *reales* at 54d (4s6d) sterling would be advanced by one-third of its value, or 18d (1s6d), to arrive at an advanced rate of 72d (6s). When expressed from the advanced rate of 72d, the coin is 25% above the sterling rate. The English used terminology that appeared to heighten the differential (and seem more generous), while the colonists wanted to use terminology that appeared to diminish the differential. In Maryland the 25% advanced rate had been in effect 1671-76 and 1686-94. The rate of 72d per eight *reales* was also legislated by the 1708 advancement; however, the Queen's 1704 proclamation and the 1707 Parliament statute required that a full weight eight *reales* be 17.5 pennyweight (dwt.). Previous Maryland advancement legislation had not defined the weight of a coin; in the colonies a 17 dwt. eight *reales* was regularly considered full weight, and at times specimens as light as 15 dwt. were accepted at full value; see Jordan, pp. 176-78, and for extensive coverage on the rating of foreign silver see Mossman, pp. 46-77. In the 1708 Maryland legislation a full weight eight *reales* was raised to 17.5 dwt.

<sup>282</sup> In the General Assembly of October 2-November 17, 1753, the value of coins used in paying fees and duties was raised one-third higher (putting an eight *reales* at 90d or 7s6d) in what was called common or running money. This higher rate was soon widely accepted throughout Maryland. The text of the 1708 Advancement Act is included below in Appendix 8. On common money see Gould, pp. 33-34.

<sup>283</sup> Chalmers in a footnote on p. 12.

pass Current at Six Shillings, and all other fforreigne Coynes shall pass proportionably thereto according to their weight and fineness (as by the Table hereunto added is sett forth)... [the statute then went on to discuss the lion dollar as follows:] ...And in Reguard there is at Present litle other money in this province than the Dollars Commonly Called dog dollars and they being neer such weight and fineness as that they would by the forementioned proportion pass at foure shillings and six pence.<sup>284</sup>

In this context the phrase "...there is at Present litle other money in this province..." means that, in addition to the pieces of eight and the other coins mentioned in the table, there were almost no other varieties of coins (i.e. "little other money") circulating in the province except for lion dollars. The lion dollar was not specifically mentioned in the table included with the legislation because it had not been mentioned by name in the Parliamentary Act of 1707 (known as 6 Anne, cap. 57, 1707)<sup>285</sup> that listed the identical coins, in the same order, as the coins enumerated in the table and in the final portion of the 1708 Maryland statute. Thus, when the passage is read in context, the statement means the lion dollar was a significant coin but not the only coin in Maryland, rather, it was the only common coin not specifically listed in the table of rated coins that was attached to the statute.

As we have seen above, the lion dollar was first mentioned in advancement legislation from the Middle Atlantic colonies of Pennsylvania and West New Jersey in 1693. Dutch coinage had not been mentioned in the Maryland advancement rates of 1686, which were renewed in 1692. Unfortunately, once the Maryland advancement act was disallowed in 1694, the province did not have an opportunity to promulgate an advanced rate for the lion dollar, as had been done by their northern neighbors. Thus, as late as 1708 the lion dollar had never been officially rated in Maryland at an advanced value. This meant the trading rate of the lion dollar was open to more interpretation than the other coins mentioned in the 1708 advancement act. During the 1708 legislative session the lower house wanted the lion dollar to pass at 60d (5s) but the upper house would not consent to this and set the rate at 54d (4s6d). The actual value of the coin, as established by Newton in 1702 (at 338 grains sterling), was 44d. A one-third increase, as was allowed by the act of Parliament in 1707, came out to 58.6d, which the House of Delegates in Maryland wanted to increase to 60d (5s) but the Council would not allow this because the valuation was 1.4d too high and would be "...flat in the Face of the Act of Parliament of England...[and colonists trading the coin at that rate would be]...liable to the Imprisonment and Forfeiture by the said Act for receiving them at any Rate above one third of the intrinsick Value."<sup>286</sup> Therefore, the Council would only consent to a value of 54d (4s6d), which was 4.6d below the one-third limit, but was the only convenient denomination below 5s and was the value at which the lion dollar had been trading in commercial exchanges, as is mentioned above in the 1697 case involving William Holland. That there was such a debate over the valuation of this coin, but not over the value of the other coins, suggests the lion dollar had not been widely used for as long as the other coins mentioned in the act, where the advanced trading rates had been established back in 1671 (as had been the case with Spanish American cobs, the *rix* dollar and the *écu*).<sup>287</sup>

284 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 27, pp. 350-51.

285 Chalmers, Appendix B, pp. 414-15 for the text of the act.

286 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 27, pp. 297-98.

287 John Kleeberg suggested another reason for the debate over the value of the lion dollar may have been due to the fact that there was less confidence in this coin than there was in Spanish-American silver. In an e-mail of March 23, 2004, John observed "There were many counterfeits of the lion dollar; hoards of this coinage often turn green because they contain counterfeits with a high copper content. There are also many imitations of the lion dollar (from Italy and Emden [Germany]), with varying silver content. The coinage was thus much less confidence inspiring than the more strictly controlled (post 1652, that is) Spanish-American pieces."

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**Postscript**

By 1710 the quantity of coins in daily use in Maryland was far greater than the supply that had been available in 1662, when Baltimore silver was first issued. In 1666, George Alsop had stated "Tobacco is the currant Coyn of *Mary-Land*, and will sooner purchase Commodities from the Merchant, then money." At that period almost all daily exchange was based on tobacco credit or barter. During the half-century following the Baltimore emission the supply of coinage in Maryland gradually increased. In the chapter on Maryland, in *The British Empire in America* by the Englishman, John Oldmixon, published in 1708, we discover tobacco was still the basis of the Maryland economy and that most people continued to live on plantations. However, Oldmixon explained that small daily exchanges or "Pocket-Expences" were made using coins. He stated:

Tobacco is their Meat, Drink, Cloathing and Money: Not but that they have both *Spanish* and *English* Money pretty plenty, which serves only for Pocket-Expences, and not for Trade, Tobacco being the Standard of that, as well with the Planters and others, as with the Merchants.<sup>288</sup>

Spanish American silver was used daily, but primarily for smaller purchases. Oldmixon suggested English silver was also available, but since he lived in London and relied on the reports of others, I suspect Oldmixon simply assumed English coinage was available. In fact, records and legislation show that during the 1690s and early 1700s foreign coins predominated, particularly lion dollars and Spanish American cobs, in both legitimate and counterfeit varieties. A small amount of English sterling circulated, as did some Massachusetts silver, but it appears Baltimore silver was out of circulation by this time.

The colonists understood that even though the quantity of coinage was increasing, it was not keeping pace with the growth of coinage in neighboring colonies. That was the central object of the complaints made during the period 1694-1708. The goal was not simply to get more coinage but rather to build a strong and diverse economy in Maryland; the coinage supply was considered to be a critical element for economic growth.

During this period the Maryland legislature passed various measures to help diversify the tobacco economy. On April 19, 1706, "An Act Incouraging the making of hemp & Flax within this province" was enacted, allowing these products to be used to pay debts at the rate of 6d per pound for flax and 9d for hemp.<sup>289</sup> Then, in 1715, "An Act for Encouragement of Tillage and relief of Poor Debtors" was passed. This law allowed the poorer Maryland inhabitants, with a court judgment entered against them for inability to pay a debt, the option of paying tobacco or money debts owed to other Maryland colonists with various specified commodities at predetermined rates.<sup>290</sup> However, tobacco continued to remain the staple product; indeed, payment of taxes and levies were required by law to be made in tobacco.

In May 1715, the Proprietary was reinstated. When Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore, died, on February 20, 1715, his son, Benedict Leonard Calvert, the fourth Lord Baltimore, inherited the proprietorship. The main reason the Proprietary had been excluded from political authority was


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<sup>288</sup> Oldmixon, vol. 1, 1708, pp. 206-7, also see Appendix 9.

<sup>289</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 26, pp. 632-33, passed during the General Assembly of April 2-19, 1706.

<sup>290</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 30, pp. 259-60, passed during the last Royal General Assembly, held April 26 – June 3, 1715. The commodities and rates were: bacon and beef at 1.5d per pound, pork at 2d per pound and dried beef at 3d per pound, also, Indian corn at 20d (1s8d) per bushel, barley or oats at 24d (2s) per bushel, peas at 30d (2s6d) a bushel and wheat or peas at 36d (3s) per bushel. These commodities were to be applied to money debts at the rates indicated and to tobacco debts, which were usually expressed in pounds of tobacco, assuming a tobacco price of 1d per pound.

because by the agreement of August 1, 1689, no Catholic was allowed to hold any political or military office in the province. Charles, like his father and grandfather, had been Catholic, however his son, Benedict, was not. Since Benedict Calvert was a Protestant, political authority was restored to the proprietorship. Unfortunately, Benedict died in April, before the restoration was formally promulgated, therefore his minor son, Charles, the fifth Lord Baltimore, was granted the title of Proprietary, under the guardianship of Francis, Lord Gifford. The current royal governor, John Hart, was recommissioned by the Proprietary.<sup>291</sup>

Over the next few decades there were several protests by the non-planter minority in Maryland against the requirement to pay levies in tobacco.<sup>292</sup> In fact, the desire for a tobacco alternative was part of the debate regarding an emission of paper currency as early as the initial proposal, which was put forward in the lower house on October 25, 1727.<sup>293</sup> With the support of Charles, the fifth Lord Baltimore, the second monetary emission for the province was approved in 1733. This was Maryland's first emission of paper currency, an issue of £90,000 in bills of credit (*see figure 17 and appendix 10*). The venture was successful and led to subsequent emissions.<sup>294</sup> In fact, it has been observed that soon after the first emission of paper currency began circulating several merchants transferred their ledger balances from tobacco to Maryland money of account. However, it was not until the tobacco inspection act of 1747 that colonists were finally allowed to make all provincial payments in money at the rate of 12s6d (150d) in paper currency per hundred pounds of tobacco, provided payment was made at the time the fee was incurred or annually before April 10th. From that year the use of tobacco as money quickly subsided in Maryland; it was rarely used after 1765.<sup>295</sup> 

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291 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 25, pp. 322-24 for the letters reappointing Governor Hart, read in Council on Tuesday, December 27, 1715. There was a commission to Hart from Lord Baltimore's guardian, Lord Gifford, dated May 30, 1715, and instructions from King George I, dated July 1, 1715.

292 Gould, pp. 52-54 and 69-71.

293 Gould, pp. 78-85.

294 Of the £90,000 a total of £48,000 was issued to taxpayers at the rate of 30s (£1 10s) per taxable to be disbursed at the next session of the various county courts after the notes were printed. The remaining £42,000 was issued as loans at four per cent interest with plate, leases or real estate as collateral. See Gould, pp. 84-85, McCusker, *Money and Exchange*, pp. 190-91, Michener, "Money in the American Colonies" and appendix 10 below for further details.

295 Gould, pp. 53-54 and 71-73. Assuming paper currency was valued at the proclamation rate, this conversion of 150d in paper money of account to 100 pounds of tobacco would value a pound of tobacco at 1.125d sterling (which equals 1.5d at the proclamation rate).

## Appendices

### 1. The Barons of Baltimore and Lord Proprietaries of Avalon and Maryland

George Calvert (1579 - April 15, 1632), first Baron Baltimore (1625) and first Lord Proprietary of Avalon (1623). He died shortly before the final charter for Maryland was approved on June 20th. Calvert married Anne Mynne (1578-1621) on November 22, 1604; sometime after her death on August 8, 1622, Calvert married his second wife, Joan, who accompanied him to Avalon in 1627. Lord Calvert had seven sons and five daughters as follows: Cecil, Leonard, George, Francis, Henry, John, Philip, Anne, Dorothy, Elizabeth, Grace and Helen.

Cecil Calvert (1605 – November 30, 1675), second Baron Baltimore, second Lord Proprietary of Avalon and the first Lord Proprietary of Maryland (June 20, 1632). His brother Leonard (ca. 1606-1647) was the first governor of Maryland. His half-brother Philip (1626-1682) was sent to Maryland with a commission dated November 7, 1656, appointing him provincial secretary; he served as governor in 1660-61, then Cecil's son Charles replaced him, at which time Philip was made deputy lieutenant governor. Cecil married Anne Arundell on March 20, 1627/8. Anne, a member of an important Catholic family, was the daughter of Thomas Arundell, First Baron Arundell of Wardour (Tisbury, Wilts). Anne died on July 23, 1649.

Charles Calvert (1637 - Feb. 21, 1715), third Baron Baltimore, third Lord Proprietary of Avalon and the second Lord Proprietary of Maryland. On August 1, 1689, the proprietary government was overthrown by the Convention of Protestant Associators.

Benedict Leonard Calvert (1679 - April 16, 1715), fourth Baron Baltimore and fourth Lord Proprietary of Avalon. Upon the death of his father Charles Calvert, a Catholic, the proprietary government of Maryland was restored because Benedict was a Protestant. However, Benedict died less than two months after his father, before officially being installed as Proprietary.

Charles Calvert (1699 – April 24, 1751), fifth Baron Baltimore, fifth Lord Proprietary of Avalon and the third Lord Proprietary of Maryland. Following the death of his father, Benedict Calvert, the surviving minor, Charles, was installed as Proprietary of Maryland in May 1715, under the guardianship of Francis, Lord Gifford.

Frederick Calvert (1731/2 – September 4, 1771), sixth Baron Baltimore, sixth Lord Proprietary of Avalon and the fourth Lord Proprietary of Maryland.

Henry Hartford (ca. 1749 – 1834), the illegitimate son of Frederick Calvert. The Baron Baltimore title became extinct with Frederick Calvert, but Hartford was bequeathed the Maryland Proprietary in Frederick's will. Hartford remained in control through the Maryland General Assembly that concluded on April 19, 1774. On June 22nd an unsanctioned Provincial Council convened, electing delegates to the Continental Congress. On June 26, 1776, the Proprietary's last colonial governor, Robert Eden, departed Maryland. Less than two weeks later, on July 6, 1776, the Maryland Convention declared independence from Great Britain.

### 2. A Note on Avalon

In 1620, George Calvert purchased the southeastern portion of Newfoundland, partly from the Newfoundland Company and partly from Robert Vaughan, an independent investor. In 1621, Calvert began colonizing a fishing outpost called Ferryland and then in 1623, obtained a royal charter from King James I as Lord Proprietary of the colony he named Avalon. After several years

of investing in the colony, Calvert visited Avalon briefly in 1627 and then again in 1628, staying through the winter.<sup>296</sup> He departed Avalon in August of 1629, seeking a region with a warmer climate. In later depositions it was stated that, upon his departure, Calvert had left a man named Hoyle in charge of the colony as governor. Following the death of George Calvert in 1632, his son and heir, Cecil, made inquiries and discovered Hoyle had apparently left the colony. Then in 1633 or 1634, Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, appointed Captain William Hill as governor. Hill took up residence in the stone "Mansion House" that had been built for and used by George Calvert.

Other than appointing a governor there was no direct involvement or investment in the colony by the second Lord Baltimore, who never visited the area. The general perception in England was that the colony had failed, therefore a group of English investors, interested in fishing rights, applied for a royal patent to Newfoundland. Baltimore protested the application to the Privy Council, but to no avail. On November 13, 1637, King Charles I granted the Island of Newfoundland to the investors, headed by Sir David Kirke. Kirke arrived in the colony in 1638, settling in Ferryland, where he dispossessed Hill from the "Mansion House" and changed the name of the colony from Avalon to Pool Plantation. Kirke took the title of governor and resided on the plantation developing the area for himself and his investors at the expense of the local residents. Cell has described Kirke's reign as follows:

...most the skilled fishermen were encouraged to desert their ships and settle in Newfoundland; or they were debauched by the taverns which Kirke had so temptingly provided. The rights of the first-comer were ignored as space on the beaches was seized, sometimes violently, by Kirke, his settlers and his favourites. The fisherman's property was stolen and destroyed; their voyages were delayed and so made unprofitable. Not even the independent settlers were safe. According to the testimony of Thomas Cruse, Kirke imposed taxes and collected annual rents on their houses and fishing places.<sup>297</sup>

David Kirke was clearly unpopular with the local inhabitants but he was a Royalist supporter of King Charles so no action was taken against him. However, with the advent of the Commonwealth Kirke was put under investigation. In 1652, he was recalled to England and placed in jail. Cecil Calvert had not given up his rights to Avalon and took this opportunity to press his claim by suing Kirke in admiralty court. The Commonwealth Council of State sent six commissioners to Newfoundland under Captain John Treworgie to act as a governing body with instructions to seize Kirke's property and take depositions regarding Baltimore's claim to the land.<sup>298</sup> In 1653, Treworgie was appointed

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<sup>296</sup> George Calvert resided in Avalon with his second wife, Joan, and his children, Francis, George, Leonard, Henry, Philip, Anne, Grace and Helen. Sir Robert Talbot accompanied the family and married Grace Calvert while they were in Avalon. Calvert's his oldest son, Cecil, remained behind to supervise the family's Irish estates. See: Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, pp. 293, 294, 276 and 287; On p. 287 in footnote 4, Cell mentions the identity of Calvert's second wife is unknown, however in Vicary Gibbs, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant*, second edition, (this is an expanded and revised version of the first edition by George Edward Cokayne) volume 1, London: St Catherine, 1910, p. 393, she is called Joan. Also see, *Colony of Avalon*, "Ferryland Names A-D," at [http://www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/history/documents/names\\_a\\_d.html](http://www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/history/documents/names_a_d.html) (last accessed Dec. 20, 2003).

<sup>297</sup> Cell, *English Enterprise*, p.122.

<sup>298</sup> The depositions included several complaints against Kirke, however there were few positive statements about the Calvert family. Cecil Calvert had estimated the family invested about £20,000 in Avalon, but residents who remembered George Calvert stated his improvements had amounted to much less. Philip Davies stated he had heard George Calvert say that he had spent no more than £1,200 at Ferryland; Amie Taylor estimated his improvements at £1,700 and John Staughton stated that Calvert had not spend more than £1,800. Clearly, Cecil Calvert was including all costs, from purchasing the land, to transporting colonists and supplies, as well as personal expenses for travel to the colony and the construction of the stone Mansion House along with the costs related to protecting and governing the colony and making infrastructure improvements, while the residents only counted infrastructure improvements to the harbor and the boats. See, Cell, *English Enterprise*, p. 121, and his *Newfoundland Discovered*, pp. 298-302, for Cecil Calvert's statement and the depositions of settlers.



as the sole commissioner with powers equal to that of a governor. This situation continued until the restoration of Charles II in 1660, when, in June, Baltimore's petition for the renewal of his patent was finally granted. Baltimore then sent a Mr. Raynor and a Captain Pearce to the colony as his agents and deputy governors.

Lord Baltimore was actively involved in Maryland, but had little interest in supporting Avalon. As we have seen, in the early 1660s he appointed agents to the colony and in a legal document of 1663 he was called the Proprietary, but that was the about the extent of his involvement. "An Act Made by the Tenents of Avalon" dated August 30, 1663, written by Baltimore's agent William Swanley, begins by proclaiming Baltimore's titles: "At a court Held In Ferryland, in the name of the Right Honourable Cecil, Lord Baltimore, absolute Lord and Proprietor of the Provinces of Maryland and Avalon in America... ." That document and a document mentioning the last names of the deputy governors of 1660, are the only records mentioning Cecil Calvert acting as the Proprietary.

There continued to be an outpost at Avalon, but after 1660, there were no further attempts to establish a permanent colony. A few residents remained year round, but most of the population only stayed for the summer as part of an annual migratory fishing expedition from Western England that submitted to the jurisdiction of their own commissioners. The Dutch temporarily seized Ferryland on September 4, 1673, pillaging the colony for five days before departing.<sup>299</sup> Later, on September 21, 1696, the French completely destroyed the settlement, taking several colonists prisoner. Those colonists who escaped, spent the winter in Barnstable or Appledore before returning the next spring to rebuild Ferryland. Throughout this period, and even after the destruction of the colony, the Baltimore family continued to use the title Lord Proprietary of Avalon, but they had no active role in the colony.<sup>300</sup>

Starting in 1729, the British Admiralty appointed a naval governor and court to the Newfoundland colony during each summer fishing season; however, it was not until 1824 that the colony had a permanent governor. The last recorded use of the Avalon title by Lord Baltimore, in the records of the Maryland Assembly, was in 1771. Frederick Calvert, Lord Baltimore, had died on September 4, 1771, in the Kingdom of Naples, so news of his death had not reached Maryland by the time of the General Assembly of October 21 – November 29, 1771. In the final acts of the Assembly the Proprietary was addressed as "...Right Honourable Frederick Absolute Lord and proprietary of the Provinces of Maryland and Avalon Lord Baron of Baltimore &c<sup>a</sup>."<sup>301</sup> Frederick's illegitimate son Henry Hartford inherited the title of Lord Proprietary of Maryland in his father's will, but the titles Baron Baltimore and Lord Proprietary of Avalon became extinct at Frederick's death.

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299 There is an account of the raid, by the 40-gun ships *Green Wife*, *Arms of Leydon* and *Unity* along with the 36-gun *Schacator*, written by Captain Dudley Lovelace, who was one of fifty English prisoners on the four Dutch vessels. See: [http://www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/history/documents/letter\\_58.html](http://www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/history/documents/letter_58.html) (last accessed December 20, 2003).

300 See the website the *Colony of Avalon* at <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/history/default.html> (last accessed December 20, 2003), with several pages on the early history of the area and editions of several relevant documents, including the 1663 act quoted above. Also see: Prowse, pp. 93-208, supplemented by updated analysis in Cell, *English Enterprise*, pp. 92-95, 114-15 and 121-22; as well as Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, pp. 46-59 for a discussion and pp. 250-302, for an edition of all the relevant documents; and Neary and O'Flaherty, p. 30.

301 *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 63, p. 238.

**3. Act of the Maryland General Assembly of April 13 – May 8, 1669***An Act for Paym<sup>t</sup> of money debts with Tobacco*

Whereas it is manifest by dayly Experience that the Inhabitants of this Province are Constrayned & doe dayly Contract for debts payable in money and the Scarcity of money in this Province being such th<sup>t</sup> it is not possible for the Inhabitants to make paym<sup>t</sup> in kind whereby the Credito<sup>rs</sup> taking advantage of the Same doe Compell the Inhabitants to w<sup>t</sup> Composition & they please to the great damage & Sometimes to the vtter Ruine of the debtor Be it therefore Enacted by the Right Hono<sup>ble</sup> the Lord Proprietary by & with the Advice & Consent of the vpper & Lower house of this p<sup>r</sup>sent Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly and the Authority of the Same That all & Every person and persons whatsoever within this Province that have heretofore or shall hereafter Contract any debts payable in money itt shall & may be Lawfull to & for the person or persons soe Contracting for the Same to satisfie his Credit<sup>r</sup> or Credito<sup>rs</sup> for the same in Tobacco att the Rate of Three halfe pence sterling by the pound of Tobacco

And it is Likewise further by the Authority aforesaid ordeyned & Enacted th<sup>t</sup> the Cred<sup>r</sup> shall be bound Soe to accept the Same vnder the Penaltie th<sup>t</sup> hee or they th<sup>t</sup> shall Refuse to accept such paym<sup>t</sup> or Satisfaccion shall be without other Remedy for his or their debts any Law vsage or Custome to the Contrarie notwithstanding This Act to Endure for three yeares or to the End of the next Generall Assembly w<sup>ch</sup> shall ffirst happen (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, pp. 220-21).

**4. Act of the Maryland General Assembly of March 27 – April 19, 1671***An Act for the Advancement of fforreigne Coynes*

fforasmuch as Tobacco is the only comoditie of this Province which is att So Low a Rate that noe Manufactures handicrafts or Tradesmen in which Consists the welfare of all fflowrishing Countries Cannot Subsist without the help Conveniences and assistance of Ready mony Wherefore for Encouragm<sup>t</sup> to those that shall bring monys into this Province as for all manufactures Handycrafts and other Tradsmen that is already or here after Shal be Imported into this Province As also for the Ease Benefitt and Advantage of other the Inhabitants of this Province in dealing Trafficking or Trading for inconsiderable Parcells of goods for which payment cannot Soe well be made in Tobacco. Bee it Therefore Enacted and it is hereby Enacted by the Right Hono<sup>ble</sup> the Lord Proprietary by and with the Advise and Consent of the vpper and Lower howses of this Present Generall Assembly And by the Authority of the Same That all Coynes (except the Coynes of his Royall Maiestie the King of great Brittainne) hereafter named shall be Advanced Taken and Rec<sup>d</sup> by all Persons for the ffull value in mony sterling as they by this Act are Enioyned (That is to say) That Every shilling of his Lordshipps the Lord Proprietary shal be deemed to pass for Twelve pence sterling and Every six penny peece for Six pence sterling Every New England shilling for Twelve pence sterling And Every New England Six penny pece for Six pence sterling And either of the Said Coynes in Lesser or greater Peecees to be advanced the Sume of Three pence proportionable in Every shilling or Twelve pence according to the Rates they pass or goe for in the Kingdom of England As also Every ffrench Crowne peece of Eight or Rix doller att Six shillings sterling duccatones att Seaven Shillings and Six pence sterling which Said ffower Coynes and Every one of them in greater or Lesser peecees to be advanced as aforesaid And according to the Rates they pass for and are taken in England aforesaid as also all other Coynes of Silver or gold fforreigne or not fforreigne (except before Excepted and except also Peruvies and Copper or base mony) That shall be Lycenced to be Exported out of the Kingdom of England and Passable in the Kingdom of England shal be paid taken and Received with the Advance of three pence sterling in the vallue of Twelve pence sterling Conteyned in Every Such peece as the Same is vallued in England And

it is hereby Enacted by the Authority aforesaid That all Such moneys and Coynes So advanced as aforesaid shall be Rec<sup>d</sup> and taken to the vallue aforesaid in all paym<sup>ts</sup> made and contracted for to be made and paid in mony vnd<sup>r</sup> the paine that vppon Sufficent prooffe made of Such Person or Persons So Refusing to accept thereof for or in Satisfaction of any debt due by bill contract or account or by any other Lawfull waies or meanes whatsoever att such Rates and advance as by this Act is made and Enacted to Loose his her or their debt or debts Soe due as aforesaid never to be Recovered of the Debtor in any Court of Record within this Province any Law Custom or vsage to the contrarie hereof Notwithstanding And it is hereby ffurther Enacted by the Authority aforesaid That noe Person or Persons whatsoever Stranger or Inhabitant within this Province shall Export out of this Province or attempt to Export out of the Same any of the aforesaid Coynes or mony Soe advanced as aforesaid by Privately Secretly or Publiquely Conveying or hiding of the Same on Board any Shipp or vessell bound out of the Province vnd<sup>r</sup> the Paine of fforfeiture of the Said mony Soe Exported or intended to be Exported as aforesaid one moyty thereof to the Lord Proprietary and the other halfe to the Informer or him or them that shall Sue for the Same in any Court of Record within this Province by bill Plaint or Informacion wherein noe Essoyne Proteccion wayer of Law to be allowed Provided alwaies that the Two shillings per hogshead this Assembly given to the Right Hono<sup>ble</sup> the Lord Proprietary for Support of the Governmt shal be alwaies paid in English mony sterling or the full Intrinsick vallue thereof in the Coines aforesaid Any thing in this Act or in any other Act to the Contrarie hereof Notwithstanding This Act to Endure for Tenn yeares next Ensuing (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, pp. 286-87).

##### 5. Act of the Maryland General Assembly of March 27 – April 19, 1671

*An Act for the Settling the Rates & Prizes<sup>302</sup> in mony of all wyne  
Liquors and other Comodities Sould by Retayle within this Province*

fforasmuch as divers and Sundry greivous Comp<sup>ts</sup> have beene made of the great abuses Comitted by the Severall Ordinary Keepers and Innholders within this Province against severall of the good People of this Province whoe have of late denyed and Refused to give Entertainm<sup>t</sup> to all or most of the good People of this Province Coming and Resorting to their or any of their howse or Howses or to lett them have Creditt for Such necessary Accomodacions as they Stood in need of and had occasion for in Tobaccoes att the Rates and Prizes Lymitted and appointed to be paid to and Rec<sup>d</sup> by Such Ordinary Keepers or Inholders (by one Act Intituled an Act Lymitting Ordinary Keepers) as formerly was vsed and accustomed vnless Such Person or Persons Soe Coming and Resorting to their Severall and Respective howses as aforesaid did pay Ready mony for Such wines Victuals and other necessary Accomodacions whereby Severall of the good People of this Province Especially Such as have att any Time had Occasion or were Necessitated to Come to the Provinciaall Court as Iurors Witnesses and other Persons that have busines att the Said Court And att the Secretary's Office att S<sup>t</sup> Maries not having Ready mony have for want of Such necessary accomodacions and Creditt as aforesaid been putt to very great Inconveniences to the Endangering their Healths And forasmuch as there is as yet noe Law for Lymitting the Prizes of wines and other Comodyties Sould by Ordinary Keepers and Inhold<sup>rs</sup> for which Ready mony is to be paid of which the Said Ordinary Keepers and Inhold<sup>rs</sup> taking Advantage they have most vnconcionably Exacted & demanded of Such Person and Persons who had Ready mony to pay for such necessary accomidacions as aforesaid And the Said Inhabitants of this Province have beene Compelled to pay and the Said Ordinary Keepers and Inholders have taken & Rec<sup>d</sup> Ready mony for their Said wines and other Comodities att very Excessive and vnreasonable Rates and

<sup>302</sup> Rates refers to the rates of exchange in Maryland money of account offered by the merchants for specific foreign coins (or to the rate in Maryland money of account for a pound of tobacco), while prizes (prices) refers to the amount charged for items.

Prizes to the great damage and prejudice of the good People of this Province for the Remedy and Redresse whereof for the future Be it Enacted and Ordained by the Right Hon<sup>bl</sup> the Lord and Proprietary of this Province by and with the Advice and Consent of the vpper and Lower Howses of this present Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly And the Authority of the Same That from henceforward noe Ordinarie Keeper Inholde<sup>r</sup> or other Person whatsoever within this Province keeping an Ordinary victualling house or howse of Entertainm<sup>t</sup> within this Province shall sell vtter or vend or be allowed for any the wines Liquors and other Comodities and necessary Accomodacions by them or any of them hereafter Sold to any person or persons whatsoever within this Province and for which Ready mony shal be paid and Tendered to be paid above the Rates and Prizes in money hereafter mencioned Sett downe and Expressed (to witt) for Brandy Tenn shillings by the gallon, for dutch dramms Six Shillings by the gallon English drams Tenn shillings by the gallon Rumm Six Shillings by the gallon Canary Twelve shillings by the gallon Malago Tenn shillings by the gallon all manner of ffrench wyne Six Shillings by the gallon Rhenish wines Six Shillings by the gallon Madera ffall Porto Port & other Portugall wyne Six Shillings by the gallon Sherry Tenn Shillings by the gallon ffor any strong Beer or Ale made within this Province of malt of the growth of this Province and Brued within this Province Two shillings by the gallon Beare [beer] made of fforreigne Mault or Brued in fforreigne Parts one shilling and Six pence per gallon Syder [cider] Perry and Quince drink of the growth of this Province one shilling six pence per gallon if of fforreigne growth one shilling per gallon for mumm Three shillings by the gallon for dyett one shilling by the meale for good Lodging to any person accomodated with a Bed Six pence by the night for Muscavado Sugar Eight pence by the pound for Refined white Sugar Sixteene pence by the pound And the like Rates Every Ordinary Keeper and Inholder is hereby Enioyned to observe for A greater or Lesser Quantity of the aforesaid Rates and Prizes in ready mony of drink and other accomodacions and shall not directly or indirectly take demand Receive exact or be allowed in mony more than the Lymitacion before Specified which is not intended by this act to be mony Sterling but in Such Coyne and Soe Advanced as by an Act made this present Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly is in that Case made and Provided Intituled an Act for the Advancement of fforreigne Coyne within this Province And be it also Enacted and ordeined by the Authority aforesaid That every Ordinary Keeper or Inhold<sup>r</sup> or other victualler within this Province keeping a house of Entertainm<sup>t</sup> that shall directly or indirectly Exact in mony more Either for drink dyett Lodging or other necessary accomodacions then what is herein Specified and allowed them in mony advanced as aforesaid shall not only Loose every Such debt as shall by Suficcient prooffe appear to be uniuistly Charged Contrarie to the True intent & meaning of this Act but also forfeit ffive hundred pounds of Tobacco The one halfe to the Lord Prop<sup>er</sup> and the other halfe to him or them th<sup>t</sup> shall Sue for the Same in any Court of Record within this Province wherein noe Essoyne Protection or wager of Lawe to be allowed And fforasmuch as mony att p<sup>r</sup>sent is verry scarce and hard to come by within this Province It is hereby Likewise ffurther Ordained & Enacted That it shall and may be Lawfull to and for any person or persons Inhabitants Resyants or howse keepers within this Province or to and for any other person or persons whatsoever not a howse keeper within this Province to make Satisfaccion for any Such debts by them made and Contracted att the Ordinaries or Inhold<sup>rs</sup> howses as aforesaid Either in Tobacco or in Ready moneys att his and their wills and discretions And whereas divers the good People of this Province are Necessitated to come downe to the Citty of S<sup>t</sup> Maries as Iurors and witnesses and to the Secretaries office and to attend at the Gen<sup>l</sup> Assemblies which are Comonly held att the Said Citty of S<sup>t</sup> Maries for the Encowragm<sup>t</sup> of any person & Persons that shall hereafter keepe Ordinary or shall builde any howse or howses in the Said Citty of S<sup>t</sup> Maries vppon the Towne land Comonly Called S<sup>t</sup> Maries ffeild and Conteyning one hundred Acres and keepe Ordinary or Ordinairies therein to give Entertainm<sup>t</sup> to Such person or persons Inhabitants and howse keepers within this Province as Iurors witnesses and otherwise having buisnes att the Provinciaall Court and Secretaries office as aforesaid Every Such person or persons Ordinary keepers & Inhold<sup>rs</sup> as aforesaid Shall and may vppon the denyall & Refusall or delay of paym<sup>t</sup> for the debts made and Contracted by such Iurors witnesses or other persons coming to the Provinciaall Co<sup>rt</sup> and having business there and att the Secretaries office as aforesaid (Soe as the Said debts doe not Excede

for Two meales of meat by the day One pottle of strong bear by the day and Sufficient Lodging att Night att the Rates and Prises before Lymitted in money or Tobaccos) vppon Oath made of the Truth of Such Ordinary Keepers Bookes of account for Such accomadacions as aforesaid before One of the Iustices of the Provinciaall Cor<sup>t</sup> have Receive take and Sue out Execucion for Such debts as if they or any of them had Really brought their or any their Accions [actions] for the Same in any Court and had gott and obteyned Iudgment therevppon any Law or Custome to the Contrarie in any wise notwithstanding Provided allwayes that noe Ordinary Keeper within this Province shall at any Time Charge any thing to account for Boles of Punch or any other Quantity of meat drink but shall only Sell the Severall Ingredients to the Said mixture according to the Rates before in this Act Ascertained and allowed vppon paine of ffive hundred pounds of Tobacco for Each offense Comitted over and above the full value of the Punch or other mixed Liquors So charged to account Provided also that all Ordinary Keepers where any County Cor<sup>ts</sup> are kept and Ordinary Keepers in any the Corporacions within this Province shall have Execucion for Such debts as by this Act is allowed to any ordinary Keeper within the Citty of S<sup>t</sup> Maries as well as vppon the Towne Land This Act to Endure for Three yeares or to the End of the next Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly which shall ffirst happen (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 2, pp. 295-98).

**6. Proceedings of the Maryland General Assembly of April 2 – April 19, 1706 and a letter from Governor Seymour to the Committee for Trade and Plantations on this legislative session**

*Documents Related to a Proposal for Small Copper Coins for Maryland*

A. [A coinage proposal from the *Journal of the Upper House* (the Council) for Monday April 8, 1706. This initial proposal asked for "Copper pence Sixpences & shillings."]

Ordered that the following Message be Sent to the house by Col Lloyd & Col. Ennalls.

By the Councill in Assembly Ap<sup>l</sup> the 8th 1706

It is recomended to the Consideracon of the Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly whether the want of a small runing Cash be not a greate discouragem<sup>t</sup> to poor indigent Labourers and Artificers such as Carpenters Coopers Smiths Brick-layers & Boatmen whose necessity calls for a present dayly Supply, When as in tob<sup>o</sup> they cannot receive their pay but at one certaine tyme in the year which is the greatest Reason such Tradesmen generally leave the Province & go to the Northward where they are not under that Difficulty. And therefore in Case your house thinke this is fitting to be remedied. Whether it may not be proper this Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly should address her Ma<sup>tye</sup> to supplye the Province with some small Copper Coyne which might be current here according to the Scheme herewith Sent You.

Signed per Order W Bladen Cl Counl [Clerk of the Council]

Proposall for a running Cash.

That the Assembly address her Ma<sup>tye</sup> that she will be most graciously pleased to grant them a particular Species of Coyne for this Province (to witt) Small Copper pence Sixpences & shillings with her Ma<sup>tye</sup>s Royall Pourtraiture on the one side Maryland on the other, Which should be only current in this Province by her royall Proclamation or Act of Assembly.

That her Ma<sup>tye</sup> be reimbursed by the Countrye the Value of the Copper & Charge of Coyning which may perhapps am<sup>o</sup> to £700 Sterl. This money may be disposed of by the Publick Treasurers for

Bills of Exch<sup>a</sup> to £4000 Value That this money go Current in paym<sup>t</sup> of all sumes not exceeding five pounds. And that no person presume to export any of it under the. Penalty of twenty pounds Sterl. for every twenty shillings and so pro rato thirty pounds for 30<sup>sh</sup> & £40 for 40<sup>s</sup> or a greater or lesser quantity by which means it will be kept in the Countrye.

To make this base Coyne of the intrinsick Value with what it is designed to pass at. Lett the Publick Faith be engaged and an Act of Assembly made or other proper Directions given the Publick Treasurers yearly to sett aside the Value of one thousand pounds Sterl until it shall am<sup>o</sup> to the whole Creditt so that when any Artificer or Labourer brings him a Sume of Copper not less than five pounds, he may be able to give him Bills or other current Coyne for it.

This will effectually answer the End proposed : And the sume of money thus proposed to be sett aside may remayne a Sacred Treasure never to be touch'd unless on some greate Invasion made on the Country You will by this means keep Tradesmen in the Countrye who will meet with present Reward for their Labour It will greatly promote Towns & encourage Such persons to reside there Workmens Wages will be considerably cheaper Ordinary Accommodations may well be afforded at halfe the extravagant prices they are now Sold at.

This Cash will keepe the Sherriff out of your tob<sup>o</sup> Houses, All Officers will be advantag'd thereby, And it will be a trusty Stake for the Country upon any fatall Emergencye to have such a Bancke to make use of which will not only be £4000 but really £7000 when a Violent Incursion of the Enemye might perhaps over run all before the Generall Assemblye could consider how to raise a Sume to answer the prsent Exigencye, few being willing to fight even for their owne Countrye much less our Servants unless well incouraged that is payed (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 26, pp. 530-31).

B. [A request that a letter be written regarding the forgoing coin proposal. From the proceeding of the *Journal of the Lower House* (the House of Delegates) for the morning of Monday, April 15, 1706.]

Ordered That Col<sup>o</sup> John Contee and M<sup>r</sup> Henry Coursey draw up and prepare an Address to her Majesty on the Proposal for Copper Coin and also for an Allowance to refund Money made use of out of the 3<sup>d</sup> per Hhd. &<sup>ca</sup> (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 26, p. 598).

C. [A letter to the Queen regarding a coinage proposal. From the proceeding of the *Journal of the Upper House*, (the Council) for the afternoon of Thursday, April 18, 1706. This final request asked for "pence, three pences & six pences."]

Came Mr Henry Coursey & brought up an Address to her Majesty & another to the Lord High Treasurer. Both which are as follows

To the Queens most excellent Majesty

The humble Address of yo<sup>r</sup> Governour Councill & Assembly of this your Majestys Province of Maryland now Convened.

Whereas This your Majestys Province is wholly Destitute of any Manner of Coine for want of which we labour under the greatest difficulties & Inconveniencies imaginable Our Tradesmen for want of prompt payment deserting us Our Country exposd to every Insult that may be made on us & for many other weighty Reasons too tedious here to be inserted Wee Do most humbly Address you<sup>r</sup> sacred Majesty that you will be most graciously pleased to grant us a particular Species of

a Small Copper Coyne in pence three pences & six pences with your Maj<sup>ty</sup>s Royall Protraiture on the one side & Maryland on the other The Intrinsic value thereof & yo<sup>r</sup> Majestys Charge of Coynage amounting to Seven hundred pounds Sterling to be remitted by us yo<sup>r</sup> Loyall Subjects to your Treasury in England And the said Coyne to be made only Currant in this yo<sup>r</sup> Majestys Province by yo<sup>r</sup> royall Proclamation The Publiq Faith here Standing engag'd for the Security of all such who shall receive any the said Coine which will be a most royall beneficence to Yo<sup>r</sup> Majestys most loyal and dutifull Subjects (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 26, pp. 551-52).

[This is followed by a letter on pp. 552-53 to the Lord High Treasurer of England listing misappropriations of £260 made by the former governor, Nathaniel Blakiston, and Council President, Thomas Tench and requesting reimbursement. The funds had come from a 1s tax on each hogshead of tobacco exported from Maryland, of which one-fourth (or 3d) was to be spent on arms and ammunition, but apparently had been used to pay for the capture and expulsion of some pirates and to pay off a debt and purchase provisions. Then directly following the second letter on p. 553, is the following:]

Both which Addresses were Read at the Board & well approv'd of And were Sign'd by his Ex<sup>ncy</sup> the members of the honourable Councill & those of the house of Delegates (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 26, pp. 553).

D. [A letter from Governor John Seymour of Maryland to the Committee for Trade and Plantations, August 21, 1706. Excerpt on the small coinage proposal].

"...Wee have also presum'd to preferr our most humble Address to H.M., to grant us some small species of base copper coine (copy of which Address, together with the proposall your Lordships will see in the Journalls of the Councill, and the House of Delegates), and at this time, now we are unanimously bent on Towns and Ports, such a small summ as we propose seems most absolutely necessary to be current here, in order to defray the petty charges of boatage and bringing our Tobaccoes to Towns, for the more ready dispatching of the shipping; and in regard it is not propos'd to be anywhere else currant, or for any great summ, we humbly hope your Lordships will approve and recommend it to H.M. ffavour, ffor unless we have small ready cash, we can never pretend to ports or Towns, and now especially, seeing the French and Spaniards are so potent and industrious to annoy these American parts. I doubt not your Lordships will judge it convenient H.M. subjects of Virginia and Maryland, as well as other Countrys, should live in such a community, that they may have some place to resort to, and be able to defend each other, should they be insulted by their Enemies..." (*Calendar of State Papers, 1706-1708*, item 470, pp. 194-98 with the excerpt from pp. 196-97).

## 7. Act of the Maryland General Assembly of March 26 – April 15, 1707

*An Act against forging and Counterfeiting of Forreign Coyns Gold or Silver:*

Aprill the 15th 1707.

An Act against forging and Counterfeiting of Forreign Coyns Gold or Silver :

Forasmuch as Diverse Evill Disposed Persons have of late forged and Counterfeited Severall Forreigne Coyns Comonly Received amongst her Maj<sup>ty</sup>s Subjects of this Province for Curr<sup>t</sup> in paym<sup>t</sup> to the great Damage of her Maj<sup>ty</sup>s Subjects being thereunto Encouraged for th<sup>t</sup> there has not heretofore been any Condigne punishm<sup>t</sup> by Law Pvided for such offenders wherefore & in order to Deterr such Like Offenders for the future from such Evill & pnitious practices:

Be it Enacted by the Queens most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and Consent of her Maj<sup>ty</sup>s Governour Councill & Assembly and the Authority of the same that if any Person or Persons after the Publication of this Act falsely forge Counterfeit or Clip any such kind of Coyn of Gold or Silver as is not the Proper Coyn of the Kingdom of England or shall aid assist or Abett any offender or offenders doing the same Either by Concealing them or by any other ways or means Countenance such offenders in their said offences Every such offender his aiders abettors and Countenancers therein for the first offence shall be Whip't Pilloured and Crop't in both Ears and for the second offence shall be Branded on the Cheek and banished upon due Conviction in any of her Maj<sup>ty</sup>s Courts of Record within this Province:

Aprill the 9<sup>th</sup> 1707. Read and assented to by the house of Delegates  
Signed per order W Taylard Clk h D. [Clerk, House of Delegates]

Aprill the 10<sup>th</sup> 1707. Read & Assented to by her Maj<sup>ty</sup>s hon<sup>ble</sup> Councill  
& Signed per order W Bladen Cl Council. [Clerk of the Council]

Aprill the 15<sup>th</sup> 1707. On the behalf of her Maj<sup>ty</sup> Queen Anne of England &<sup>ca</sup> I will this be a Law.

Jo: Seymour [John Seymour, Governor] (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 27, pp. 144-45).

## 8. Act of the Maryland General Assembly of November 29 – December 15, 1708

### *An Act for Selling the Rates of fforreigne Silver Coyns within this province*

Whereas her Majesty haveing had under Consideration the Different Rates at which severall species of fforreigne Coynes do pass in her severall plantations and the inconveniences thereof by the Indirect practice of drawing the money from one plantation to another did issue her Royall Proclamation bearing date the Eighteenth day of June one thousand seven hundred and four for selling and ascertaining the Current Rate of fforreigne Coynes in the said plantations at Rates therein lymitted, and it being observed that the said proclamation did not procure the desired Effect. It was in the sixth yeare of her present Majestys Reigne by the Parliament of England Enacted in an Act Intituled an Act for ascertaineing the Rates of fforreigne Coynes in her Maj<sup>ty</sup>s plantations in America That no person after the first day of May which shall be in the yeare of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and nine account Receive or pay any the Severall Species of fforreigne silver Coynes mentioned in the said proclamation at any Greater Rate that at which the Same is thereby Settled without being Subject to the paines and penaltys therein menconed. By which it is Conceived that her Gracious Majesty is desirous to Restraine our neighbouring plantations under proprietors from taking such advantages as they have hitherto practized against us under her immediate Commission and Government in Restraineing them from Advancing The Rates of silver Coyne higher then in the said proclamation is allowed and allowing us to Come up to the said Rates it is humbly pray'd that it may be Enacted.

And be it Enacted by the Queens most Excellent Maj<sup>ty</sup> by and with the Advice and Consent of her Maj<sup>ty</sup>s Governour Councill and Assembly of this province and the Authority of the same that from and after the first day of May which shall be in the yeare of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and nine the severall Species of fforreigne Silver Coyne mentioned in the said proclamation shall pass and be Current in this Province at the Rates therein menconed (that is to say) a piece of Eight of Sevill pillar and Mexico weighing Seventeen penny halfe penny weight and of foure Shillings and Six pence Intrinsick Vallue shall pass Current at Six Shillings, and all other fforreigne Coynes shall pass proportionably thereto according to their weight and fineness (as by the Table hereunto



added is sett forth) for the discharge of any Contracts or Bargaines made after the said first day of May one thousand seven hundred and nine and Likewise shall pass in payments of all Dutys and Impositions which Is for the Defraying the Charges of this province and all officers ffees which by the Laws are rated in mony. And in Reguard there is at Present litle other money in this province than the Dollars Commonly Called dog dollars and they being neer such weight and fineness as that they would by the forementioned proportion pass at foure shillings and six pence. And the Inhabitants of this province being not so well acquainted with other fforreigne Coynes nor at present Provided with weights and Scales it is humbly pray'd that it may be Enacted. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid that the said Dog dollars be Current in all payments as aforesaid at four shillings and Six pence as Vsual untill such time as her Majesty her heires or Successors or the Generall Assembly of this province shall otherways ordain and Enact.

The Table before Mentioned.

Sevill Pillar and Mexico peices of Eight being Seventeen penny weight twelve graines and four Shillings and Six pence intrinsick Vallue to pass at Six Shillings. Sevill peices of Eight new Plate fourteen penny weight and three Shillings Seven pence intrinsick Vallue to pass at foure Shillings and nine pence. Peru peices of Eight Seventeen penny weight twelve Graines and four Shilling five pence intrinsick Vallue to pass at five shillings and tenn pence. Cross Dollars Eighteen penny weight four graines and foure Shillings foure pence three farthings intrinsick Vallue to pass at five shillings and tenn pence. Dukatoons of fflanders Twenty penny weight twenty one Graines five shillings and six pence intrinsick Vallue to pass at Seven Shillings and four pence Ecus of ffrance or Silver Lewis Seventeen penny weight twelve Graines four shillings six pence intrinsick Vallue to pass at Six Shillings Crusadoes of Portugall Eleven penny weight four Graines two Shillings tenn pence intrinsick Vallue to pass at three Shillings and nine pence. Three Gilders peices of Holland twenty penny weight seven Graines five Shillings two pence intrinsick Vallue to pass at Six Shillings and Eleven pence. Old Rix Dollars of the Empire Eighteen penny weight tenn Graines four Shillings and six pence intrinsick Vallue to pass at six shillings. The halfe Quarters and other parts in proportion to the Denominations and light peices in proportion to their weight and the Currancy of all other Silver Coyne of the same or baser alloy shall after the said first Day of May stand regulated according to their weight and finess according and in proportion to the rate before limited and sett for peices of Eight of Sevill Pillar and Mexico.

By the house of Delegates 15th December 1708. Read and assented to by the house of Delegates.  
Signed per order Richd Dallam Cl: ho: Del: [Clerk, House of Delegates]  
December the 15th 1708.

Then was the bill read and assented to by her Maj<sup>ty</sup>s honble Councill  
& Signed per order. W Bladen Cl Council [Clerk of the Council]  
December the 17th 1708.

On the behalfe of our Sovereigne Lady Ann Queen of Great Brittain &<sup>ca</sup> I will this be a Law  
Jo: Seymour [John Seymour, Governor] (*Archives of Maryland*, vol. 27, pp. 350-52).

### **9. Excerpts from John Oldmixon, "The History of Maryland," in *The British Empire in America*, 1708**

The Climate of this Province, the Soil, Product, and all that's mention'd in the Contents of this Chapter, are the same, in a great measure, with those of *Virginia*: Both here and there the *English* live at large at their several Plantations, which hinders the Encrease of Towns; indeed every Plantation is a little Town of itself, and can subsist itself with Provisions and Necessaries, every

considerable Planter's Ware-house being like a Shop, where he supplies not only himself with what he wants, but the inferior Planters, Servants and Labourers, and has Commodities to barter for Tobacco, or other Goods, there being little money in this Province, and little Occasion of any, as long as Tobacco answers all the uses of Silver and Gold in Trade. There are few Merchants or Shop-keepers, who may properly be so call'd, we mean who are not Planters also, but live wholly by their Trades. [Oldmixon, vol. 1, 1708, p. 203]

There's little or no Wollen Manufacture follow'd by any of the Inhabitants, except what is done in *Somerset County*. Tobacco is their Meat, Drink, Cloathing and Money: Not but that they have both *Spanish* and *English* Money pretty plenty, which serves only for Pocket-Expences, and not for Trade, Tobacco being the Standard of that, as well with the Planters and others, as with the Merchants." [Oldmixon, vol. 1, 1708, pp. 206-7]

#### **10. Excerpts from an act of the Maryland General Assembly of March 13, 1732/33 – April 12, 1733**

*An Act for Emitting and Making Current, Ninety Thousand Pounds, Current Money of Maryland, in Bills of Credit.*

[from *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 39, pp. 92-113, excerpts include: the preamble, the section on the disbursal of the notes at the county courts and the section on the burning of unmerchantable tobacco.]

Whereas Tobacco, the only Staple of this Province, and the principal Dependence of its Inhabitants, hath for several Years past produced so little, that several of the People, not able to get the Neccesaries of Life, by the Fruits of their Labour, have been obliged to desert their Habitations; and many more must follow their Example, or be constrained to attempt some other Way of living, less advantageous to the Trade of Great-Britain, their Mother-Country, than making Tobacco, unless some Expedient can be found, to remove the Difficulties under which they have long laboured : And whereas, the most probable Means to enable the People to discharge their Taxes, and other Engagements now payable in Tobacco, otherwise, and to destroy such ordinary and unmerchantable Tobaccos, which serve only to clog the Markets, and to depreciate the best Sorts of that Commodity, as well as to put the People in a Condition to carry on the Tobacco Trade, to the Advantage of Great-Britain, and this Province, is to establish a Paper Currency, or Bills of Credit, upon a sinking Fund :

Wherefore it is prayed, that it may be Enacted : And be it Enacted, by the Right Honourable the Lord Proprietary, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly, and the Authority of the same, That Bills of Credit, to the Value of Ninety Thousand Pounds, current Money of America, according to an Act of Parliament, made in the Sixth Year of the Reign of the late Queen Anne, For Ascertaining the Rates of Foreign Coins in the Plantations, to circulate for Thirty One Years, from the Commencement of this Act, shall be printed and struck, in Manner and Form following : [Preamble of the act from pp. 92-93].

[The legislation continues with an explanation on the design and printing of the notes and a discussion of the loan bank. Later the act mentions the following regarding the dispersal of 30s in currency to each taxable.]

...And to the End the said Bills of Credit may be the more useful to the Inhabitants of this Province, and the Circulation of them as speedy and diffusive as possible, Be it Enacted by the Authority, Advice, and Consent aforesaid, That there shall be Thirty Shillings, in the said Bills of Credit,

issued, for every Taxable Person, in each respective County, within this Province; and also Ten Pounds, over and above the said Thirty Shillings, for each respective County, at the County Court to be held next after the said Bills of Credit shall be signed, and ready to be emitted, to the Justices of the several County Courts, to be distributed and disposed of as followeth, viz. Thirty Shillings thereof to be paid to every Master or Mistress of a Family, or his or her Order, for such Master, and every Taxable Person to him belonging; and the like Sum for every Taxable Person belonging to any Mistress of a Family, or Mistress of any Servant or Servants, or Slave or Slaves, being a Taxable or Taxables; and also to every other Free Man, being a Taxable, or his Order, the like Sum of Thirty Shillings, in the said Bills of Credit; for which the several and respective County Clerks shall take Receipts, in a Paper Book for that Purpose, to be by them transmitted to the Commissioners or Trustees; for which each respective Clerk shall have and receive Ten Pounds, in the said Bills of Credit. ... [p. 97].

[Much later, near the end of the act, there is mention of a requirement that each taxable burn 150 pounds of unmerchutable tobacco. Although not directly stated in the act it appears the 30s in currency delivered to each taxable at the spring or early summer county court session in 1733 was a payment for the tobacco to be burned by July 31, 1735. Interestingly the fine for not complying with the order to burn the tobacco was only 20s, while the payment to each taxable had been 30s.]

... And, the better to prevent the Exportation of trashy, ordinary, and unmerchutable Tobacco, Be it Enacted, by the Authority, Advice, and Consent aforesaid, That every Master or Mistress of a Family, shall be, and is by this Act required, to burn, or cause to be burnt, in the Presence of such Person or Persons as shall be appointed by Virtue of this Act for that Purpose, on or before the Last Day of July, which shall be in the Year of our Lord, Seventeen Hundred, thirty and Four, the Quantity of One Hundred and Fifty Pounds of Tobacco, to be tied up into Bundles, dry enough to pack, of the most ordinary Sorts of Tobacco, for every such Master of a Family, or other Person, having any taxable Servant or Slave, and every taxable Person to him belonging; and the like Quantity of One Hundred and Fifty Pounds of Tobacco for every taxable Person belonging to any Woman, who shall be an House-keeper, or Mistress of any Servant or Slave, Servants or Slaves, being a Taxable or Taxables, and also for every House-keeper, or other Person, being a Taxable; and the like Quantity of One Hundred and Fifty Pounds of Tobacco, of the like Quality, on or before the Last Day of July, Seventeen Hundred, Thirty and Five, for every taxable Person, as herein before-mentioned: And that every Person who shall fail to perform what is required by this Act, shall, for every One Hundred and Fifty Pounds of Tobacco thereby appointed to be burnt, and which shall not be so burnt, be fined Twenty Shillings current Money of Maryland; to be applied to defray the Charge of emitting and negotiating the said Bills of Credit.... [pp. 110-11].

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**Descriptions of figures**

1. **Map of Virginia and Maryland.** By Herman Moll (1654-1732), a Dutch mapmaker working in London, as published in John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, London, 1741.

2. **James I shilling.** Third Coinage; thistle mintmark, 1621-23; 90.4 grains; 30.9 mm; 240° (counterclockwise) or 4:00 o'clock reverse die alignment; Spink 2668; Coincraft J1SH-030  
Obverse: IACOBUS · D · G · MAG [circle of five dots with one in the center] BRI · FRA · ET  
HIB · REX (thistle) [James by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland]  
Reverse: QUAE DEVS CONIVNXIT NEMO SEPARET [What God has joined together let no man split asunder]

3. **Charles I sixpence.** Tower Mint, fourth class; anchor mintmark, 1628-29; 46.3 grains; 24.88 mm; 350° (counterclockwise) or 12:20 o'clock reverse die alignment; Spink 2802, class 4<sup>1</sup>; Coincraft C16D-045, class 4<sup>a</sup>; large numeral variety  
Obverse: CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FR · ET · HIB · REX · (anchor) [Charles by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland]  
Reverse: CHRISTO · AVSPICE · REGNO · (anchor) [I reign under the auspices of Christ]

4. **Commonwealth shilling.** 1651; sun mintmark; 89.8 grains; 31.38 mm; 220° (counterclockwise) or 4:40 o'clock reverse die alignment; Spink 3217; Coincraft CWSH-005  
Obverse: THE · COMMONWEALTH · OF · ENGLAND · (sun) ·  
Reverse: GOD · WITH · VS · 1651 ·

5. **Massachusetts Bay Oak Tree shilling.** Noe 1; 70.8 grains; 25.12 mm; 360° or 12:00 o'clock reverse die alignment; minted in the late 1650s or very early 60s  
Obverse: MASATHVSETS · IN ·  
Reverse: NEWENGLAND · AN · DOM · [in center, 1652 / XII]

6. **Cromwell shilling.** 1658; 91.6 grains; 27.84 mm; 360° or 12:00 o'clock reverse die alignment; Spink 3228; Coincraft OCSH-005  
Obverse: OLIVAR · D · G · R P · ANG · SCO · HIB &c PRO [Oliver, by the Grace of God, of the Republic of England, Scotland and Ireland etc. Protector]  
Reverse: PAX · QVÆ RITVR · BELLO 16 58 [Peace is sought through war 1658]

7. **Lord Baltimore shilling.** Hodder 2-B; 4.62 grams (71.29 grains); ANS: 1950.185.1  
Obverse: + CÆCILIVS · DNS: TERRÆ - MARIÆ & CT · [Cecilius, Lord of Maryland, etc.]  
Reverse: CRESCITE · ET · MVLTIPPLICAMINI · [Increase and be multiplied]

8. **Charles II hammered groat.** Third issue, 1660-62; crown mintmark; 31.0 grains; 22.53 mm, 150° (counterclockwise) or 7:00 o'clock reverse die alignment; Spink 3324; Coincraft C24DH-005  
Obverse: CAROLVS · II · D · G · MAG · BR · FR · ET · HIB · REX · (crown) · [Charles II by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland]  
Reverse: CHRISTO · AVSPICE · REGNO · (crown) [I reign under the auspices of Christ]

9. **Charles II milled crown.** 1672; third bust; 461.0 grains; 39.16 mm, 360° or 12:00 o'clock reverse die alignment, Spink 3358; Coincraft C2CRM-190

Obverse: CAROLVS · II · DEI · GRATIA [Charles II by the grace of God]

Reverse: MAG · BR · FRA · ET · HIB REX · 16 72 · [King of Great Britain, France and Ireland 1672]

Edge: ★ DECVS · ET · TVTAMEN · ANNO · REGNI · VICESIMO · QVARTO ★ [An ornament and a safeguard (from Vergil, *Aeneid*, Book 5: 262) in the twenty fourth year of our reign]. This refers to the writing on the edge as both an ornament as well as safeguard that can aid in detecting any coin that has been filed or clipped.

10. **Maryland provincial coat of arms.** Detail from an unissued remainder 2s6d note of the 1733 paper currency emission

11. **Lord Baltimore groat.** Hodder 1-A (Breen 74); 1.406 grams (21.69 grains); ANS: 1949.43.1 MD

Obverse: + CÆCILIVS : DNS: TERRÆ - MARIÆ : &c · [Cecilius, Lord of Maryland, etc.]

Reverse: CRESCITE : ET : MVLTIPPLICAMINI · [Increase and be multiplied]

12. **Lord Baltimore sixpence.** Hodder 2-C; 41.5 grains; 21.5 mm; 360° or 12:00 o'clock reverse die alignment; obtained from the Morton and Eden sale of the Fulbeck Hall group, November 13, 2002.

Obverse: + CÆCILIVS : DNS: TERRÆ - MARIÆ : & C [Cecilius, Lord of Maryland, etc.]

Reverse: CRESCITE : ET : MVLTIPPLICAMINI · [Increase and be multiplied]

13. **Lord Baltimore sixpence.** Hodder 2-C (Breen 68); 2.214 grams (34.16 grains); ANS: 1922.179.1 MD

Obverse: + CÆCILIVS : DNS: TERRÆ - MARIÆ : & C [Cecilius, Lord of Maryland, etc.]

Reverse: CRESCITE : ET : MVLTIPPLICAMINI [Increase and be multiplied]

14. **Lord Baltimore shilling.** Hodder 1-A (Breen 64); 4.16 grams (64.19 grains); ANS: 1949.92.1 MD

Obverse: + CÆCILIVS : DNS: TERRÆ - MARIÆ : & CT · [Cecilius, Lord of Maryland, etc.]

Reverse: CRESCITE : ET : MVLTIPPLICAMINI · [Increase and be multiplied]

15. **William Idler Lord Baltimore denarium.** In bronze; Kenny, Idler 2; 76.5 grains; 20.6 mm; 180° or 6:00 o'clock reverse die alignment (this is a medal turn orientation)

Obverse: + CÆCILIVS : DNS: TERRÆ MARIÆ : & CT / W. IDLER · DEALER IN COINS, MINERALS & C PHIL<sup>A</sup> [Cecilius, Lord of Maryland, etc. / William Idler, dealer in coins, minerals, etc. Philadelphia]

Reverse: + DENARIVM : TERRÆ - MARIÆ [Penny of Maryland]

16. **William Idler Lord Baltimore denarium.** In copper-nickel; Kenny, Idler 2; 58.0 grains; 20.5 mm; 180° or 6:00 o'clock reverse die alignment (this is a medal turn orientation)

Obverse: + CÆCILIVS : DNS: TERRÆ MARIÆ : & CT / W. IDLER · DEALER IN COINS, MINERALS & C PHIL<sup>A</sup> [Cecilius, Lord of Maryland, etc. / William Idler, dealer in coins, minerals, etc. Philadelphia]

Reverse: + DENARIVM : TERRÆ - MARIÆ [Penny of Maryland]

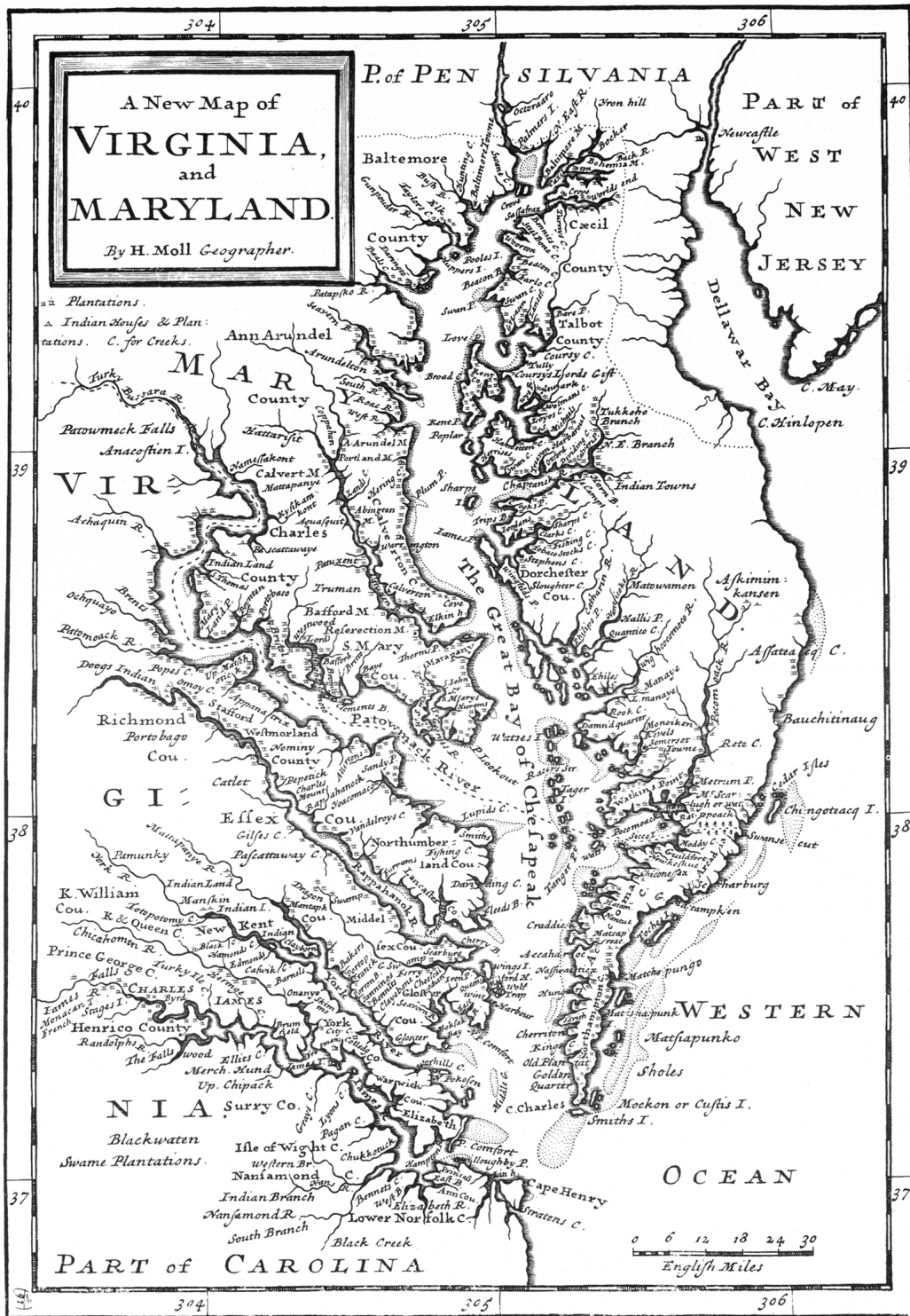
17. **First Maryland emission of paper currency,** 1733, 2s6d, unissued remainder that is still attached to the redemption ticket stub, the back of this issue is blank.

**A note on die alignment measurements:** The reverse die alignment measures the relative angle of rotation of the dies from their proper orientations. It is assumed that properly aligned dies would produce specimens with a precise “coin turn” or a 180° difference in alignment between the top of the vertical axes of the obverse and reverse central devices.<sup>303</sup> The number signifies the degrees by which the dies were misaligned, however it does not specifically reveal which die was misaligned. The measurement was taken by determining the vertical axis of the central device on the obverse of the coin (with the top of the device at 12:00 o’clock, that is, 0° or 360°). This is a somewhat subjective exercise since everyone may not agree on the precise location of the vertical axis on the obverse central device, hence there can be some variation in the final readings. Next, one performs a coin turn. The coin turn is done along the horizontal axis so that the “top” and “bottom” of the coin switch positions as the coin is turned or flipped over. The edge of the coin that was at the “top” is now at the “bottom” and the “bottom” edge is now at the “top.” The “right” and “left” edges remain in the same positions, but display the reverse face of the coin. Once the turn is completed the individual will be viewing the reverse of the coin but must insure the coin remains oriented at 12:00 o’clock (that is, 0° or 360°) and 6:00 o’clock (that is, 180°) with the now unseen obverse axis. Then, one locates the top of the vertical axis of the reverse central device (again this is a somewhat subjective determination). Next one should record both the number of degrees and the clock position by which the top of the vertical axis of the reverse device is misaligned from its proper upright positioning, which should be at 0° or 360°. Following basic scientific practice, as described by Professor Charles Smith in *CNL* in 1996, the degree of the arc is now measured counterclockwise. Historically most measurements were made recording arc degrees in a clockwise direction therefore the clock position is helpful in confirming the direction of the arc (see Smith, *CNL*, pp. 1646-47 and 1665).

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<sup>303</sup> A coin turn refers to flipping the coin from one side to the other, as is explained later in the paragraph. Medals are aligned differently, so that the top of both the obverse and reverse devices align at 0° or 360°, that is, 12:00 o’clock. Unlike coins, medals are turned along the vertical axis so that when the medal is turned the reverse design will be properly positioned in a correctly aligned medal. The central device refers to the main image or design on each side of the coin. On the obverse, it is typically the bust of an individual but on the reverse there is more variation; on the Baltimore coins it is the shield with the family crest.

## Figures



**Figure 1.** Map of Virginia and Maryland. *Reproduced with permission from the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Notre Dame Library.*





**Figure 2.** James I shilling, [1621-23]. *Reproduced with permission from the Robert H. Gore, Jr. Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Notre Dame Library.* [Shown 2X actual size.]



**Figure 3.** Charles I sixpence, [1628-29]. *Reproduced with permission from the Robert H. Gore, Jr. Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Notre Dame Library.* [Shown 2X actual size.]



**Figure 4.** Commonwealth shilling, 1651. *Reproduced with permission from the Robert H. Gore, Jr. Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Notre Dame Library.* [Shown 2X actual size.]



**Figure 5.** Massachusetts Bay Oak Tree shilling, Noe 1 [ca. 1660]. *Reproduced with permission from the Robert H. Gore, Jr. Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Notre Dame Library.* [Shown 2X actual size.]



**Figure 6.** Cromwell shilling, 1658. *Reproduced with permission from the Robert H. Gore, Jr. Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Notre Dame Library.* [Shown 2X actual size.]



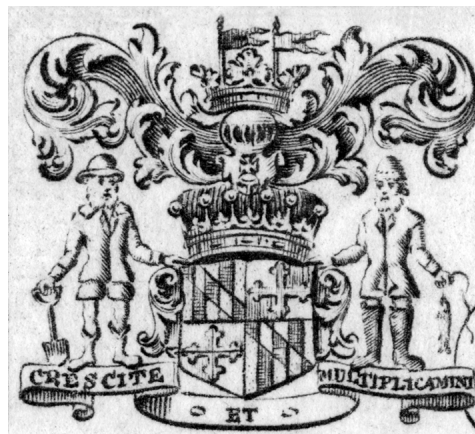
**Figure 7.** Lord Baltimore shilling, Hodder 2-B, [1659]. *Reproduced with permission from the American Numismatic Society.* [Shown 2X actual size.]



**Figure 8.** Charles II hammered groat, [1660-62]. *Reproduced with permission from the Robert H. Gore, Jr. Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Notre Dame Library.* [Shown 2X actual size.]



**Figure 9.** Charles II milled crown, 1672. *Reproduced with permission from the Robert H. Gore, Jr. Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Notre Dame Library.* [Shown 1.5X actual size.]



**Figure 10.** Maryland provincial coat of arms, 1733. *Reproduced with permission from the Robert H. Gore, Jr. Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Notre Dame Library.*



**Figure 11.** Lord Baltimore groat, Hodder 1-A, [1659]. *Reproduced with permission from the American Numismatic Society.* [Shown 2X actual size.]



**Figure 12.** Lord Baltimore sixpence, Hodder 2-C, [1659]. *Reproduced with permission from the Robert H. Gore, Jr. Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Notre Dame Library.* [Shown 2X actual size.]



**Figure 13.** Lord Baltimore sixpence, Hodder 2-C, [1659]. *Reproduced with permission from the American Numismatic Society.* [Shown 2X actual size.]



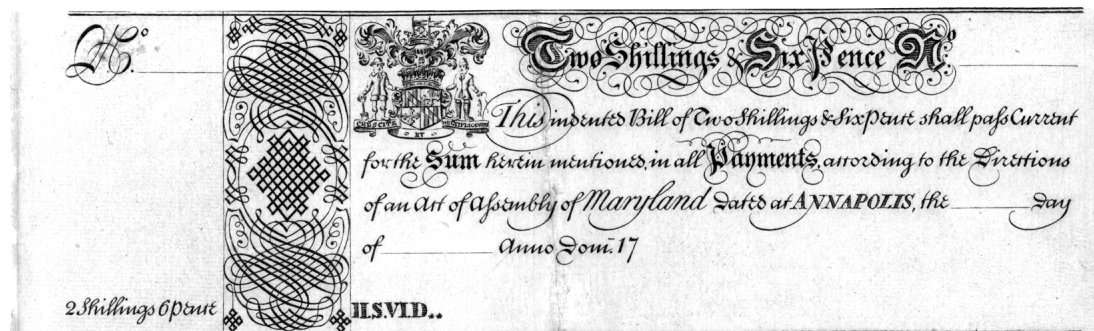
**Figure 14.** Lord Baltimore shilling, Hodder 1-A, [1659]. *Reproduced with permission from the American Numismatic Society.* [Shown 2X actual size.]



**Figure 15.** William Idler Lord Baltimore denarium, in bronze [ca. 1860]. *Reproduced with permission from the Robert H. Gore, Jr. Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Notre Dame Library.* [Shown 2X actual size.]



**Figure 16.** William Idler Lord Baltimore denarium, in copper-nickel [ca. 1860]. *Reproduced with permission from the Robert H. Gore, Jr. Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Notre Dame Library.* [Shown 2X actual size.]



**Figure 17.** First Maryland emission of paper currency, 1733. Reproduced with permission from the Robert H. Gore, Jr. Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Notre Dame Library. [Shown reduced in size. Actual size is 9.5 inches by 2.9 inches.]

**Another New Die Combination of the  
1785-dated Series of Counterfeit Halfpence Discovered:  
Newman 51-85A**

from

Byron K. Weston; Milesburg, PA  
Clement V. Schettino; Saugus, MA  
(TN-193)



**Newman 51-85A**

**1785 Counterfeit Halfpenny - Discovery Specimen**

Shown 2X actual size. *Photo courtesy of Clem Schettino.*

[Weight: 131 grains; x-axis diameter: 27.8 mm; y-axis diameter: 27.3 mm;  
die axis: 190 degrees (clockwise)]

In the December 2000 issue of *CNL*, under TN-184 starting on sequential page 2161, it was reported that a new die combination of the 1785-dated series of counterfeit halfpence had been discovered in England. We would like to report another such discovery of a previously unknown die combination: the Newman 51 obverse combined with the 85A reverse. This newest discovery adds yet another piece to the 1785-dated counterfeit halfpence puzzle.

This newly discovered specimen had been offered on eBay as a consignment lot by a British seller. In e-mail conversations with the seller it was revealed that the owner could not recall with certainty where he had acquired the piece but believed he may have picked it up in his travels in South Africa. Regardless of these suggestions as to its possible provenance, the link with the other varieties written about and plated by Eric P. Newman in his 1988 article, "Were Counterfeit Halfpence Dated 1785 Made Specifically For American Use?"<sup>1</sup> is undeniable. Obverse 51 was known to Newman to be paired with reverses 85B and 85C, and his reverse 85A paired with obverses 50 and 52. This new discovery now provides a link between the 51 obverse and the 85A reverse.

1. *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 33 (1988), pp. 205-23.

Obverse Orientation		Reverse Orientation	
Obverse	Reverse	Reverse	Obverse
50	85A	<b>85A</b>	50 <b>51</b> 52
<b>51</b>	<b>85A</b> 85B 85C	<b>85B</b>	51 <b>52</b>
<b>52</b>	85A <b>85B</b> 85C <b>85D</b>	85C	51 52
		<b>85D</b>	<b>52</b>

Die pairings found in the 1785-dated series of counterfeit halfpence. New die combinations discovered since Eric Newman's 1988 article are shown in bold type.

Three new die pairings have been discovered since Newman's 1988 work, all of them with ties to England rather than to America. Evidence that may suggest the existence of other currently unknown die combinations can be found by comparing the obverse and reverse die states of these more recently discovered die combinations to previously known varieties. Close examination of the plated obverse 51 in Newman's paper shows no sign of a die break below GEORGIVS, as is clearly evident on the obverse of this new N.51-85A die combination. Interestingly, an intermediate die state of this obverse also exists within Newman's die pairing of N.51-85B.



**Newman 51-85B**

An example of N.51-85B showing an intermediate die state of the 51 obverse with the break below GEORGIVS just beginning to show, paired with a late state of the 85B reverse. [Shown 1.5X actual size.] *Photo courtesy of Dr. Roger Moore.*



The new die combination exhibits a very late state of the obverse 51 die which was obviously used near the end of its life when combined with the 85A reverse. A comparison of the 85B reverse die states can also be made with the N.51-85B specimen plated on the previous page and that of the N.52-85B specimen illustrated in TN-184. The TN-184 specimen exhibits a considerably earlier die state of the 85B reverse. The large break above Britannia's head is not apparent in the TN-184 specimen. Thus, reverse 85B was combined with obverse 52 before being paired with obverse 51.

These observations suggest that all three obverse and all four reverse dies existed together and were mixed and matched quite randomly during their use. The discovery of the new 85D reverse, standing alone in combination with the 52 obverse, leaves open the possibility of two new die combinations with obverses 50 and 51.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, obverse 50, which is currently known to be only combined with the 85A reverse, may also have been combined with reverses 85B and 85C. In all, four additional new combinations are possible.

As was discussed in TN-184, the discovery of two new die combinations (N.52-85B and N.52-85D) in England has brought into question Newman's hypothesis that the 1785-dated counterfeit halfpence were made specifically for export to America. Alternative scenarios or modifications of Newman's theory were discussed. The first scenario, a modification of Newman's theory, simply suggested that these newly discovered varieties may never have circulated in America while those known to Newman had circulated only in America and, in fact, were made specifically for export. The second alternative suggested that there would no longer be any certainty as to which varieties may have circulated exclusively in America, or if any were intended specifically for export, if additional new varieties were discovered in England. Since the discovery of this newest variety (N.51-85A) was also made outside the boundaries of North America, it continues to remain an open question as to whether the 1785-dated counterfeit halfpence were made specifically for export to America.

The possible existence of specimens in England of varieties that were known to Newman at the time he wrote his 1988 article may have been known to a few astute British collectors, even though they too may not have realized it at the time. Such evidence may already exist in the monograph on British Evasion issues by Mullholland Ignatious Cobwright entitled, "A journey through the Monkalokian rain forests in search of the Spiney Fabbaduck." Within this work Cobwright designates two 1785-dated varieties, G.0630/B.0560 and G.0632/B.0565, showing with his numbering scheme that they were made from two distinct obverse and two distinct reverse dies. Whether these die combinations correlate with varieties that were known to Newman or to those more recently discovered, or are varieties yet undiscovered, is yet to be determined. Thus, the puzzle remains.

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2. Discovered by William Anton, Jr. and reported in *Forgotten Coins of the North American Colonies* (Wisconsin, 1992) written by William T. Anton, Jr. and Bruce Kesse.

## LETTER to the Editor

As might be expected, many favorable comments were heard concerning Dr. Philip Mossman's paper on Errors that appeared in the last issue of *CNL*. We also received the following Letter to the Editor from Dr. Roger Moore on the same subject along with some more examples of errors found on pre-Federal coppers.

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March 15, 2004

I would like to compliment Philip Mossman, M.D. for his excellent article, "Error Coins of Pre-Federal America" that appeared in *CNL*-125. Though in the past an occasional article has appeared concerning specific coins having unusual errors, and other articles have been written addressing the colonial minting process, this is the first article that brings the two together to encompass the entire range of errors. From the examples Dr. Mossman utilizes

to illustrate his points, it is apparent that the Connecticut coins and George III counterfeited halfpence are the coinages most often found with errors. Other than off-center strikes and planchet clips, the official New Jersey coinage seems to have few errors in comparison.

I have included two photographs of New Jersey coppers with lamination errors. These errors are uncommon in New Jersey coins. The first (figure 1) is a 46-e. Dr. Mossman utilized this New Jersey variety to illustrate the "coining press error" of clash marks which are quite evident on this coin with the reverse shield interposed in an inverted position on the obverse of the coin. In addition one will note that there is the "coining press error" of a shift double strike. This can be seen with the bi-ocular appearance of the horse's eye. Finally, a "planchet error," shown by the large retained lamination on the obverse is very evident.



**Figure 1:** A triple error New Jersey copper, M.46-e. This specimen exhibits a die clash, a shift double strike, and a large retained lamination. [Shown approximately 1.5X actual size.] *Photo courtesy Dr. Roger Moore.*



**Figure 2:** Obverse of New Jersey copper M.67-v where a large lamination fell off the planchet before the coin was struck. [Shown approximately 1.5X actual size.] *Photo courtesy Dr. Roger Moore.*

Therefore, this coin exhibits three distinct errors which lends credence to Dr. Mossman's comment that error coins are often found with more than a single error.

The second example of an error coin is a New Jersey 67-v (figure 2) with a large lamination error seen on the obverse. In this case the lamination fell off before the die strike, allowing the die to impress the bare metal exposed under the lamination. Details of the plow and legend can be seen in the exposed area.

Key to understanding the multiple odd strikes and errors found in colonial coins is an awareness of the entire minting process and where this process can go wrong. Dr. Mossman has done an admirable job in bringing us up to speed in this area.

Roger Moore, M.D.  
Moorestown, NJ